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NUMBER 10



Picnic after hunting.

Rajasthan, Deogarh (Mewar). Painted by Bagā in Samvat 1865/1808 A.D. 45 x 24.5 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

# PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM BULLETIN

No. 10, 1967

48837

*Editor*

MOTI CHANDRA

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## PAINTINGS FROM NEPAL IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

Pratapaditya Pal

### I

Painting in Nepal has a long and uninterrupted history extending from the beginning of the eleventh until the nineteenth century. The Nepali paintings in the Prince of Wales Museum form a rich and varied collection, reflecting many styles and influences. Covering a period of almost five hundred years, the strength of the collection lies in paintings of the seventeenth century, a number of which are dated and inscribed.

The paintings may broadly be divided into two types, those that are of a strictly ritualistic character such as that representing the *maṇḍala* of Chandra (Fig. 10) and those whose function appears to be purely narrative (Fig. 12), although the themes depicted are religious. The ritualistic paintings are commonly known as *paṭa* or *prabhā* in Nepal and *tanḡa* in Tibet, and usually portray *maṇḍalas* of an esoteric character, both Buddhist and Brahmanical. The other type consists of long scrolls which must generally be unrolled horizontally and the stories are painted in one or more bands. The term *paṭa* may in its generic connotation be applied to both these types of painting, but we shall use it in its restricted sense and refer to the first type as a *paṭa* and the second type as a scroll. Apart from these two types there is a solitary example of an illuminated manuscript in the collection.

All *paṭas* and scrolls in Nepal are painted in gouache on coarse linen or cotton, either locally made or imported from India. The use of silk as a carrier was not prevalent in Nepal. In the case of rendering a *maṇḍala* the cloth was required to be cut into a specified and liturgically accepted size, but in that of the narrative scrolls no such strict injunctions were followed. The manuscripts are written on palm-leaf, some of which, together with the wooden covers, are illuminated.

The earliest known examples of Nepali paintings consist of manuscript illuminations and go back to the beginning of the eleventh century. These were written and illuminated mostly in monasteries by monks and traditional artists, and we may thus appositely refer to this style as the 'monastic style' of painting. The same style that was prevalent in contemporary eastern India

was also employed in Nepal. The art of manuscript illumination is essentially conservative, involving much copying. Thus, it is more difficult to distinguish between manuscript paintings of eastern India and Nepal than between the sculptures of the two areas. It may also be mentioned that, although the majority of the surviving documents of painting of the period is Buddhist, the same style was used with equal facility for Brahmanical paintings.

Basically, the early *paṭas* in Nepal reflect the traits of the monastic style, although with certain differences, which are more due to the much larger size and compositional scheme of a *paṭa* than because of the technique or the subject matter. In the collection there are four fragments of a *paṭa* (Figs. 1 and 2) belonging to this style of painting. Although fragmentary, it can easily be seen that the *paṭa* represents a *maṇḍala*, and, despite the missing central portion, there seems little doubt that it is a *maṇḍala* of Samvara, a god that was extremely popular among the Vajrayānists in Nepal.

Within the *maṇḍala* proper the eight goddesses, Gaurī, Chaurī, Vetālī, etc. are portrayed in the first circle. Sixteen other tiny dancing female figures, which cannot be identified with certainty, occupy the third square of the *maṇḍala*. The outermost circle, with its ornamental flame border, is divided into eight sections by means of rivers. Each section represents a *mahāśmaśāna* or the great cemetery, presided over by one of the Dīkṣālas, such as Indra presiding over the east, Varuṇa over the west, etc. Apart from the Dīkṣāla, each cemetery is typically occupied with *chaityas*, flaming fires, corpses, *nāgas*, *siddhas*, and animals that haunt such places. Outside this circle various other Tāntric deities are represented, many of whom are different forms of Samvara, some in *yab-yum*, while, among others, the several *krodhadevatīs* such as Yama, Mahākāla, Achala, Chāṇḍamahāroṣhaṇa and Navātmaka Heruka can easily be recognized. Along the lower margin are included various emanations of Nairātmā, the four protective gods, Lha Mo, and the scene where a Vajrāchārya is seen performing the *homa* before a fire.

The entire composition and much of the colour scheme are dictated by hieratic needs. The central *maṇḍala* is conceived as a city in microcosm with its four lofty, multicoloured portals. The first square, as well as the central lotus, are divided diagonally into four sections, each with a different colour. This elaborate city is surrounded by a peripheral circle, which is divided into eight zones, each representing a cemetery. The prismatic rocks are painted in an expressionistic manner in different colours following the early Indian tradition that goes back to the paintings of Ajanta. The cemeteries are surrounded by a flame border tinged with yellows, reds, blues and whites. Here also the shape of the flame is not naturalistic and is conceived as a purely decorative design of considerable beauty and refinement. In the remaining portion of the *paṭa* each deity of the *maṇḍala* is given his or her predetermined position in the composition as well as the specified colour. The keynote of the composition is orderliness as the *maṇḍala* represents an orderly, esoteric



world, where symmetry and harmony are not only aesthetic requirements, but also symbolically necessary, for the *maṇḍala* in its quintessence symbolizes a balanced cosmos.

In the execution of such paintings the artist enjoyed little freedom in the application of colours. The colours of the deities follow the textual injunctions, and, in delineating the background, the artist reveals the Nepali predilection for reds and blues used with a contrasting effect. The general background of the painting is taken up by a gay and vivacious floral scroll-work rendered with great delicacy. This is painted mainly in two shades of red and this expressionist use of the primary colours is also apparent in *torāṇas* or the multicoloured petals of the lotuses, where green, purple, blue, red and yellow are employed with pleasing harmony. The rich and muted tones carry deep emotional quality, for the relation between such paintings, with a Tāntric subject matter, and the beholder was one of empathy.

The monastic style of painting is essentially linear, and particularly in the manuscript illuminations, the artist has, with a few simple lines, delineated the form with remarkable liveliness and plastic quality. This refinement and delicacy of the line are also apparent in this fragmentary *paṭa*, although in some of the individual figures one notices attempts at modelling by tonal variations of the different shades. This is particularly evident in the figures that are given darker hues where lighter shades have been used to add a sense of volume to the limbs. Generally, the figures are ideally proportioned, and the artist was concerned with rendering the bare essentials with little regard to anatomical details. Yet, it is remarkable, how, time and again, he succeeds, with the utmost economy of the outline and almost a flat application of colours, in imbuing his figures with almost a naturalistic quality of sensuousness, as may be noticed in the sumptuous forms of some of the female figures kneeling in the cemeteries. Where tonal gradation is employed the sense of volume is obviously more apparent. But, no matter whether the modelling is residual or makes its full impact, the outline is always given added emphasis and brought into prominent relief from its background. Indeed, against a background as richly ornamental as that we see in this painting, the artist could not conceivably indulge in a suggestive and disappearing outline. This emphasis on the linear quality has always remained an essential characteristic of both Indian and Nepali religious paintings throughout the ages. In Nepal it has sometimes acquired a calligraphic quality in its articulateness and sharpness, perhaps because the Nepali artists were more aware of Chinese traditions.

What is particularly noteworthy in these fragments (Figs. 1 and 2) is the skill of the painter in the rendering of the minutest detail. Each and every detail, whether of the floral scroll background, or of the ornaments and symbols decorating the squares and the portals of the *maṇḍala*, or of the *makaras*, from whose mouths spring what look like painted versions of exquisitely carved tusk, is executed with meticulous care and a feeling for delicacy. It appears

as if no detail was insignificant for the artist, and the same degree of attention has been paid to the drawing of the ornamental motifs as to the principal figures.

Although the use of the floral scroll to decorate the background of the paintings is more popular with Nepali artists between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries, its earliest use can be traced to the wooden covers of two manuscripts of *Sivadharmā* and *Vishṇudharmā*, now in the Bir Library, Kathmandu. The *Vishṇudharmā* is dated in the year N. S. 340/A.D. 1220, and, on a close examination of the two manuscripts, we are in no doubt that the *Sivadharmā* was also written by the same scribe and illustrated by the same artist. On stylistic considerations this fragmentary *paṭa* is closer to such thirteenth century illuminations (Fig. 3) than to the fifteenth century paintings. The figures of the kneeling females in the cemetery scenes, sensuous with their bulging breasts, convey the same sense of volume as do the figures of females in the *Sivadharmā* covers. This manner of modelling continues, perhaps with lesser vigour, in manuscript illuminations of the fourteenth century, but from the fifteenth the form of the females in Nepali paintings definitely becomes flat and linear, noticeable particularly in the treatment of the breasts which are summarily indicated only by means of two circles, as we shall see later on. We also find the same fullness of form and graceful proportions in the male figures in these paintings and in the illuminated covers. The pillars, framing the figures in the bottom of the fragmentary *paṭa*, appear to be of a slightly developed form compared to those on the *Sivadharmā* covers, and the design of the foliage capital is identical in both. Thus, a fourteenth century date, at the latest, would seem likely for these fragments. They may also be considered to constitute the earliest example of a school of painting that gained considerable popularity in Nepal in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, a school that was transplanted in the fifteenth century to the Nor monastery of Western Tibet.

## II

The monastic style of painting continues with faltering tenacity as late as the sixteenth century, particularly in manuscript illuminations. But by the fifteenth century, certainly in the *paṭas* and in a few manuscript illuminations, we find a style that is derived no doubt from the earlier tradition, yet displaying characteristics that are distinctly Nepali. The earliest dated document that can be said to have been painted in a purely Nepali style is the 1436 A.D. *paṭa* of Amoghapaśa, now in the Ethnographical Museum, Leiden.<sup>1</sup> To this style belong the illuminations of a manuscript of the *Devī Māhātmya* (Fig. 4) in the Museum collection. The manuscript is not dated but on a careful comparison with others its palaeography seems not to be earlier than c. 1400 A.D.

It is a palm-leaf manuscript in which the borders are painted with floral

<sup>1</sup> Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal*, New York, 1964, p. 104, pl. 82.



designs. There are eight illuminations and both the wooden covers are also illustrated (Fig. 5). The manuscript being of the *Devī Māhātmya*, the illuminations are related to the text and mostly depict various forms of the Devī, either by herself or in combat with the *asuras*. On two leaves (Fig. 4, second from the top) we find Mārkaṇḍeya narrating the text. Once he is shown as an emaciated ascetic with a beard and blue complexion, while in the other representation he is a normal human being. The other two illuminations are of the Devī destroying the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha<sup>2</sup> and listening to the *stuti* of Śumbha and Niśumbha. In the other pages, the Devī is seen destroying the demons Mahishāsura, then Raktabīja, the two brothers Chanda and Munda, and lastly Śumbha. The two covers (Fig. 5) are illuminated with the images of Śiva dancing on the bull, Mahishāsura-mardini, Kālī, the Seven Mātṛikās, Mahālakṣmī and Gaṇeśa. With two of her hands, each goddess displays the *vyākhyānamudrā* and holds a skull-cup. The remaining hands exhibit attributes peculiar to the particular form of the Devī. Each is also seated on her respective mount. It is worth noticing that the upper left hand of Vārāhī holds a fish and Mahishāsura-mardini on another leaf is ten-armed (*daśabhujā*), while on the cover she is eighteen-armed (*aṣṭā-daśabhujā*). But in both the illuminations the *asura* is seen emerging only half way from the buffalo on whose back the Devī places her left foot. The artist here was obviously following the text very closely. In the last verses of chapter III we read: "Thus exclaiming she jumped on the back of the great Asura and pressing his throat with her foot struck him with the trident. Trampled under her feet, the real human form of the Asura issued partially from the mouth of the buffalo and was totally overpowered by the valour of the goddess. In his half revealed form the great Asura continued to fight until his head was severed by the goddess with her sword".<sup>3</sup>

In chapter VII we are told that while giving battle to Chanda and Munda, the Devī became so enraged that Kālī of a terrible countenance and armed with a sword and a noose, appeared from her forehead, and it was in this form that she destroyed the two Asuras. Having slain them she dragged them by their hair to Chandiā,<sup>4</sup> and this is the scene illustrated in the illumination.

In another illustration Durgā grasps Śumbha's hair as she drives her trident into his stomach, while in the scene depicting the slaying of Raktabīja, the artist has shown the Devī as piercing the demon and then lifting him in the air with the prongs of the trident. It is the sort of posture and movement that we see in some of the heroic Śaiva portrayals in India, such as in the Andhakāsuravadhamūrti. Thus, despite the limitations of his repertoire, the artist of these illuminations had achieved considerable variety in the representations. The militant character of the goddess is generally indicated by the posture

<sup>2</sup> Actually in the text (ch. I) the story is recounted how Viṣṇu destroyed the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha. Evidently the artist here misunderstood the text.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter III, vv. 37-39.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter VII, vv. 4-5 and 22.

known technically as *ālīdha*, while the demons, when in actual combat, are shown in a kneeling position facing the goddess but with their body half-turned and brandishing a naked sword. Such modes and postures appear to have been in the stock of the traditional artist, and he used them when required with a varying degree of naturalism. From the different studies of the Asuras it becomes apparent that it was an art given to the portrayal of the type and the stereotype, and so we see the same basic type being shown in different contexts as different Asuras. Despite the cursiveness of the line, the style attains its vigour and vitality from the contents of the paintings, and the dramatic quality of the battle scenes is enhanced by the simple and direct compositions involving only the *dramatis personae*.

To the fifteenth century also belongs a *paṭa* of a type known in Nepal as 'Lakshachaitya' (Fig. 6). Lakshachaitya is the name of a *vrata* or rite observed by devout Buddhists, and it consists of donating a *lakh* (hundred thousand) of *chaityas*. While this was not always literally practised, usually the donor was satisfied with making a symbolic gift by consecrating a *paṭa* illuminated with a large number of *chaityas*. Sometimes the *paṭa* consisted only of such *chaityas*, but in others several deities or episodes were added. The *paṭa* under discussion is particularly interesting as it represents, besides the five Pañcharakṣā deities along the bottom, several incidents from the life of the Buddha as well as stories from the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas*.

In the middle of the *paṭa* (Fig. 7), within the womb of the *stūpa* of a typically Nepali design, is the figure of the Tathāgata Vairocana, seated and displaying the gesture of *dharmachakrapravartana*. He is flanked by the white Avalokiteśvara to his right and the yellow Maitreya to his left. Also within the *garbha* of the *stūpa* are four seated female figures, yellow, blue, green and red, representing the four forms of Tārā. On the *torāṇa* above the *harmikā*, is the tiny effigy of another Tathāgata. Inset in two vignettes on either side of the *chhatravālī* are Chandra (the moon), riding a chariot drawn by seven swans to the left, and Sūrya (the sun), riding a chariot drawn by seven horses to the right. In the smaller vignettes, adorned with the ornate floral design, are several celestial beings. The festive and auspicious occasion is marked by the strings of flowers that hang from the top of the *stūpa* and the fluttering scarves above the *varshasthālī*, a custom still followed today. In the four smaller rectangles are the four Tathāgatas-Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, Akshobhya and Ratnasambhava, presiding over each cardinal side. Each of them is seated on an elaborate throne adorned with *makaras* and *kirtimukhas*.

The scenes (Figs. 7-8) depicted, within rectangular frames, immediately around the central *stūpa*, are incidents from the life of the Buddha. The narration begins to the top right with representations of Tathāgatas with attendants. These scenes probably relate to the beginning of the life of the Buddha in the *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, where the Tathāgata Sarvavibhu tells Abhaya, a devout Bhikshu, that he would be born in the future *kalpa* as



Śākyamuni. We then see king Śuddhodhana, who was for a long time childless, along with his courtiers, giving alms in the hope that a child be born. The conception is shown by an elephant entering a building followed by the scenes of the Nativity and the seven steps in the company of Indra and Brahmā, in the traditional manner, then the presentation to the sage Asita, the young prince's training in riding, archery, etc. Several other incidents, including a few of the great miracles, are shown in the following scenes until we come to the stereotyped representation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. The artist has evidently selected the principal events from the life of the Buddha and depicted them with the utmost economy in the manner in which we find the eight great miracles being delineated in early manuscript illuminations.

In the panels along the outer margin of the *paṭa* are illustrated what appear to be *Jātaka* and *Avadāna* stories. Within each frame a different tale is represented and the brevity of the narration sometimes makes an absolute identification difficult. Usually, however, sufficient clues are given, and we may here identify a few of these tales. In one of the panels to the right (Fig. 6) we find the portrayal of a large fish, which probably indicates the *Machchha Jātaka* (No. 75), when the Bodhisattva was born as a fish. In another section (Fig. 9), to the extreme right, several personages are arranged in two tiers. In the upper row a dark and emaciated figure is flanked by four bearded ascetics. In the lower row a person is seen riding an elephant and then a monkey is confronted by a human couple seated in a reverential attitude. This no doubt represents the *Mahābodhi Jātaka* (No. 528) which states that the Lord was once born as an ascetic and was an influential preacher. Fearing that his influence might spread in the political sphere, some of the ministers informed the king that he was actually a spy. The king set out to visit the ascetic, who, in order to impress the royal visitor, miraculously created a monkey, peeled off its skin and appeared before the king wearing the skin. On being accused of killing the monkey the ascetic replied: 'If all this be either natural or brought about by previous work, I have done no wrong in killing a monkey'. The king then became a convert.<sup>5</sup> We can thus identify the figures in the upper tier as the Lord in the form of an ascetic preaching to others and in the lower tier the king first riding an elephant to visit the Bodhisattva, who is then shown in the attire of a monkey, while the king and his queen sit facing him. To the left of the painting we can recognize the *Satapatra Jātaka* (No. 279) wherein it is stated that once the Lord was born as Satapatra and extricated a bone from a suffering lion's throat. Then, when the lion was devouring some venison, Satapatra, who was very hungry, asked the lion for some, but the ungrateful lion refused to give him any. In another panel we find a dead figure surrounded by what appear to be jubilant nymphs. This probably represents a scene from the *Simhala-avadāna*, while in the topmost panel has been depicted the *Ruru Jātaka* (No. 482). Along the bottom of the *paṭa* are the five Pañcharakṣā deities and in the corner are the donors seated with a Vajrācārya.

<sup>5</sup> R. L. Mitra, *The Sanskrit and Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1882, pp. 53-54.



This brief manner of representation of a story, limited to bare essentials, appears to have been a characteristic of the early medieval period, particularly of the manuscript illustrations. Curiously, on the covers of a manuscript written at Arāh, also of the fifteenth century<sup>6</sup>, we find this summary manner of representing the *Jātaka* tales. It is obvious that these illuminations were not meant for an average man but for those who were well versed with the *Jātaka* tales to be able to recognize the story from the barest of clues. However, this manner of representation does not appear to have been very popular in Nepal. Usually in the majority of the *paṭas*, where particular episodes are illuminated, the narration is fairly rich in detail and continues from one panel to another. Despite the larger size of the *paṭas*, the pronounced influence of the tradition of miniature illuminations is apparent in the use of the tiny frames and the composition of the figures within each frame. This mode of segmentation, ultimately derived no doubt from the narrative panels at Ellora, continued to delight the Nepali artists over a considerable period of time.

The *chaityas* are painted in white against a background of red and blue-black, and the same colours alternate as the background of the scenes along the margin of the *paṭa*. The red colour is used exclusively as the ground for the illustrations of the events from the life of the Buddha. As a matter of fact these two primary colours have been employed consistently by the Nepali painters since the earliest times in the manuscript illuminations. Each panel is also composed within a miniature frame as we find in early illuminated manuscripts. Details of settings, such as the tree or a section of a building, are kept to the barest minimum, and the design of the architecture follows the contemporary wooden style prevalent in the country. Nepali painting of the period is essentially figural and whatever other motifs have been used they invariably subserve the human figure. The physiognomy of the figures is characterized by a rather sharp and long nose, sometimes resembling a *śukanāsa*, as for instance in the figure of the Vajrāchārya (Fig. 9), whose face, apart from the headdress of fur, is psychologically considerably interesting. The eyebrows are neither drawn continuously in a graceful wavy line, nor do they assume the shape of a bow, but is at times delineated in rather a crude fashion in two jerky waves.

Although the *paṭa* as also the illuminations on the *Devī Māhātmya* manuscript (Figs. 4-5) retain some characteristics of the monastic style, the line is no longer bold and sweeping as it circumscribed the figures, but desiccated and at times perfunctory. The drawing, however, is not mechanical and on occasions the outline succeeds in imbuing the forms with a rudimentary sense of volume. In contrast to the hieratic rigidity of the divine figures in the centre of the painting, there is much spontaneity and animation in the narrative panels. The postures and gestures, the half turn of the body, the soft, gliding movement of some of the figures as they step forth (Fig. 9) or simply sway as

\* Pratapaditya Pal, 'A New Document of Indian Painting', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, parts 3 and 4, 1965, p. 103f.

they stand, still retain some of the spirit of the monastic style, although there is a certain stiffness now, especially in the drawing of the limbs. The pony is of the rather thick-set and heavy variety which we encounter in later Nepali paintings, while the lion, on another page is of the heraldic type, although considerable vigour and majesty are conveyed by the curious treatment of the mane. In the sixteenth century Nepali painting becomes altogether linear, and we find an increasing tendency to delineate the figures in a less sensuous and more abstract manner. The artist now begins to take an added delight in laying emphasis on the surface quality and decorative inventiveness. It is probably during this century that, having exhausted the monastic style, the Nepali artists become more conscious of the contemporary art movements both in India and Tibet, and, from now on, their paintings display many new elements, which are once again intelligently absorbed in the main stream. An interesting *paṭa*, executed in a purely linear manner, is that depicting the *maṇḍala* of Chandra (Fig. 10) dedicated in the year N. S. 642/A.D. 1522.

Three other such *paṭas* are known, one in a private collection in Bombay, a second in the National Museum, New Delhi, and the third in the Museum van Aziatische Kunst, Amsterdam<sup>7</sup>. All four seem to belong roughly to the same period and are Buddhist *paṭas*. The Amsterdam *paṭa* (Fig. 11) was painted in the year 1525 A.D. and is so identical with the one under discussion that if they were not both painted by the same artist certainly one was copied from the other. In both the *paṭas* Chandra, riding a chariot drawn by seven geese, presides over the *maṇḍala*. In the next circle are represented the remaining eight *Grahas* and in the following circle appear sixteen identical figures, each of white carnation, seated on a goose holding a lotus in either hand. These probably represent the sixteen *kalās* of Chandra. The twenty-eight figures in the next circle no doubt portray the twenty-eight *Nakṣatras*, while the outermost circle is occupied by the *Aṣṭadikpālas*, the signs of the Zodiac, and other auspicious symbols. The five Tathāgatas along the top flanked by two Bodhisattvas clearly indicate the Buddhist affiliation of the *paṭa*. Within the square of the *maṇḍala*, in the two upper corners, are *Lokeśvara*, *Prajñāpāramitā* and the four *Tārās*. But the incidents depicted below, an animal being roasted to the left and others to the right confronting a man, cannot yet be identified. Along the bottom of the *paṭa*, the central trinity of *Gaṇapati*, *Mañjuśrī* and *Mahākāla* is flanked by the figures of donors in the company of a *Vajrācārya* performing a fire sacrifice.

In the *paṭa* of *Lakṣhachaitya* (Fig. 7) we have already seen Chandra being represented as riding a chariot drawn by five geese. Such iconic types occur in Central Asian painting where we often find both Chandra and *Sūrya* being shown as riding in their chariots in separate vignettes in the upper section of the painting, as in that of the *paṭa* of *Lakṣhachaitya*. In these two

<sup>7</sup> The *paṭas* in the private collection of Mr. Haridas K. Swali of Bombay and in the National Museum, New Delhi are unpublished. The present writer has written a paper on the Amsterdam *paṭa* for the Bulletin of that Museum.



*maṇḍalas* of Chandra (Figs. 10 and 11) a further elaboration is noticed in that there are two more attendant figures holding fly-whisks. It is common in the medieval icons of Sūrya, both from Nepal and northern India, to find two female figures holding fly-whisks, representing his two wives Chihāyā and Samjñā, and two more female figures representing Ushā and Pratyushā, shooting arrows to dispel the darkness. According to the *Vishṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, the two wives of Chandra are Kānti and Śobhā, while his charioteer is Ambara.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the two female fly-whisk bearers probably represent his two wives Kānti and Śobhā and the two arrow-shooting female figures are added by the artist following the icons of Sūrya by virtue of the fact that Chandra also appears to dispel darkness. At the same time it seems possible that the tradition of adding both Chandra and Sūrya on either side at the top of a *paṭa* was derived from Central Asian paintings.

In painting such a *maṇḍala* the artist enjoyed little freedom since the colours of the divinities are textually prescribed. There is absolutely no modelling, either by tonal variations or by means of linear articulation, as we find in the earlier Nepali paintings. The outline merely defines the mass and the background of each figure is painted to impart some relief by contrasting colours, which have been applied in a flat manner. The figures sit in a hieratic fashion and the style here is definitely conditioned by iconographic needs. The conceptual character of the art becomes apparent not only in the stereotyped repetitions of the iconic types as well as of the figures of the donors in these two paintings (Figs. 10-11) and in that of the Lakshachaitya (Fig. 6), but also in the narrative compositions and in the drawing of the animals. In the narrative panels the artist has employed a limited number of motifs, gestures and postures, in several combinations, to depict different stories. It is only in their different context that we are able to recognize their functions. In the representations of the animals also the same basic scheme has once been altered to depict a bull, a lion or even an elephant, which could hardly be recognized as such were it not for the trunk. It is obvious that in such paintings the beholder did not much care for realism, and so, even where the artist had the opportunity to observe the animals, he relied more on the mental concept before giving form to the image.

### III

It has already been remarked that the seventeenth century is very richly represented in the collection. From the first half of that century we have three long scrolls depicting Buddhist legends and stories. One of these, according to the inscription, was donated in the year 737/1617 A.D. by Śrī Kāśirāja Bhara, a resident of Byam Vihāra, on the occasion of the Rathayātrā ceremony of Śrī Buṅga, the Newari name for Lokeśvara. The chariot is painted in the last scene of the scroll. A second scroll was also donated by the same man,

<sup>8</sup> Priyabala Shah, *Vishṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, III, Baroda, 1958, 68, 2-3.

almost at about the same time, as the first two numerals of the date in the inscription reads as 7 and 3. Thus this scroll was painted, probably by the same artist, between the years N. S. 730/A.D. 1610 and N. S. 739/A.D. 1619. The third scroll, although without a dedicatory inscription, was also painted at about the same time as it is stylistically identical to the others. All the three scrolls illustrate legends connected with Lokēśvara, and extol the efficacy of worshipping him. The 1617 scroll (Figs. 12-15) no doubt depicts the myths associated with the Rathayātrā ceremony of Machchhendranātha, who is also called Buṃga Lokēśvara by the Newārs, and the occasion is one of national festivity in Nepal. The second scroll donated by Kāśīrājā (Figs. 16-17) portrays scenes from the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, a text given entirely to the glorification of Avalokiteśvara. The stories in all the three scrolls unfold in three tiers along the length of each, and the episodes are described in inscriptions that run along the top of each band or tier. Some of the inscriptions are too effaced but from those that are legible the narration can be followed easily enough. The majority of the scenes contain some representation or other of Lokēśvara being adored both by the mortals and the immortals. Without entering into details we may here point out a few salient and unusual features of iconography.

In many of the scenes either Avalokiteśvara or the Buddha is surrounded by a number of gods who mostly belong to the Brahmanical pantheon. Among these Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahādeva, Indra and Gaṇeśa feature prominently, and are usually shown as riding their respective mounts around the central image of Avalokiteśvara. Three such scenes occur in the section of a scroll. In the same illustration, in almost the middle of the lowermost tier, a multi-armed Śiva is seen dancing on his bull, while to the extreme left several Buddhist divinities such as Khaḍga-Maṇjuśrī, Mahā-Maṇjuśrī, Dharma-Maṇjuśrī, Śākyamuni, Chundā, etc. are seated in a row headed by Mahādeva. Thus, we notice the curious phenomenon that while the principal Brahmanical gods are on occasions made to attend Avalokiteśvara—as it is related in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* at least Mahādeva seems to be included in his own right in Buddhist mythology. This has always been a principal trait of Nepal's religious history and the Hindu and Buddhist divinities have co-mingled in harmony over the ages. Moreover, both Śiva and Lokēśvara are especially honoured, and we often find that the legends and iconography of these two divinities are frequently interchanged. In the same section of the scroll in the centre of the middle band, Śākyamuni is being attended to by Vairocana, Amoghasiddhi, Ratnasambhava and Padmapāṇi. Vairocana, who is provided with a *prabhā* or a halo, displays the *Dharmachakrapravartanamudrā*, Amoghasiddhi fans Śākyamuni, Ratnasambhava holds a *chhatra* or a parasol, while the halved Padmapāṇi, (incidentally Amoghasiddhi and Ratnasambhava are halved) is curiously dressed as a monk. To the extreme right of the lowermost band appear eight personages, seated in two tiers, who represent, according to the inscription, the Four Yugas and the Four Vedas. Such personifications of the Yugas and the Vedas, all portrayed in an identical fashion except their complexions, are not known in Indian art and



are even rare in Nepal. The hilly landscape behind them represents the Gopīnga Parvata where they are said to reside. The Gopīnga Parvata is the name of the hill on which the famed Buddhist shrine of Svayambhūnātha is situated. It is also curious that, while leading the procession of the Brahmanical gods in the lowermost tier, Śākyamuni is seen riding an elephant.

In the 1617 scroll (Fig. 13) also we find the Hindu divinities accompanying and adoring Lokeśvara. On the extreme left of the middle tier is rather an unusual representation of Kubera expressing his delight as he embraces his consort seated on his lap. Equally curious is the portrayal, immediately below, of a multiarmed Chandra on his chariot drawn by seven geese. The composition is no doubt the same as that we have already met with in the earlier *paṭas*, it became a convention in Nepali art. But the multiplication of the arms is rather unusual. Normally, Chandra is shown as two armed, although in the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* the number of arms is four<sup>9</sup>. Such iconographic elaborations are probably due to local variations, and indeed Nepal seems to have developed a rich iconographic tradition of its own. At the extreme right of the middle band, Lokeśvara stands on the summit of mount Sumeru, while several other gods, mostly Hindu, are arranged in a hierarchy in a number of tiers. In the last scene is the interesting representation of the Rathayātrā ceremony where Lokeśvara is being bathed and then carried in the chariot to the accompaniment of music.

The *Kāraṇḍavyūha* is an amplified prose version of the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* which is in verse. Both, however, are concerned with praising Avalokiteśvara and recounting the miracles and good deeds performed by him. One of his principal occupations is to save the suffering souls in hell and in one section of the scroll to the top left, we see the standing figure of Avalokiteśvara with two sufferers apparently begging for salvation, while the custodians of hell are busy shoving a couple of sinners into a cauldron. In another section of the painting (Figs. 16 and 17), in the central band, is depicted the story of Simhala as it is recounted by the Buddha in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*<sup>10</sup>. The story runs that Simhala, the son of Simha, a merchant, set out on a sea voyage. Overtaken by a storm, his ship capsized off the island of Tāmradvīpa. Simhala and his companions, however, reached the shore of an island which was inhabited by ogresses who assumed the forms of enchanting nymphs and seduced the hapless seafarers. The story then goes on to say how they were warned miraculously by a lamp and asked to run away on a horse named Balāha, but not to open their eyes as they rode across the ocean. The ogresses began wailing on learning of the flight of their lovers, and on hearing their lamentation all except Simhala opened their eyes and consequently fell into the ocean and were devoured by the ogresses. Simhala's enchantress pursued him, met his father and complained about his son's desertion. But the father accepted the son's story and so the disconsolate ogress proceeded to the king and lodged the

<sup>9</sup> *Vishṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, III, 68, 1-2.

<sup>10</sup> R. L. Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

same complaint. The king, believing her story, married her, and was subsequently devoured by her. *Simhala* was then crowned as the king. This story is, however, not entirely illustrated in the painting. In the middle band of one of the sections the story begins on the right and we see *Simhala* and his men proceeding to the ocean, then sailing in a ship, while on the other side of the ocean, the ogresses wait in the guise of beautiful damsels. The next scene on the extreme left represents *Simhala* accepting one of the nymphs as his bride.

Stylistically all the three scrolls belong to the same school of painting. The earliest document in this style is the illuminated manuscript of the *Hitopadeśa*, dated in the year 1590 A.D., and now in the Bir Library at Kathmandu<sup>21</sup>. Two other manuscripts, of the type known as *Kalāpustaka*, also belong to this style. Both these are as yet unpublished; one of them is in the Cambridge University Library and the other in the Palace Museum at Bhatgaon, Nepal. The drawings along the upper sections of the exterior walls of the royal temple of Taleju Bhavānī and the murals on the palace walls at Bhatgaon, probably painted in this period, are also executed in the same style. It is thus possible that all these paintings were done by the artists belonging to the same atelier, probably of Bhatgaon. The fact that these paintings portray both Hindu and Buddhist subject matter clearly indicates that the artists were professional people and were patronized by the Hindus and Buddhists alike.

Following are the principal characteristics of the style :

(a) The narration is continuous but the composition does not sprawl along the entire length of the scroll. Instead, the scenes are divided into separate units, each being artificially framed by trees, architectural motifs or just a plain dividing line. The resultant effect is that of a modern comic strip. Though it must be added that the scenes are not always so rigidly separated. This becomes apparent from an examination of some of the incidents illustrated in the scroll. In Fig. 13, in the lowest band, two incidents are depicted. Immediately to the right of the representation of Chandra, a group of men with enjoined palms, representing Kāśirāja Bhārō, the donor, and members of his family, sit reverentially within a structure facing the Vajrāchārya who is performing the *homa*. In the same composition, with their back to the sacrificial fire, are several other seated figures, in two tiers, evidently welcoming the chariot of *Lokesvara*, which forms a part of the next composition, when logically the dividing line should have been placed between them and the worshipping donors. Similarly, in the representation of the *Simhala-avadāna* (Fig. 16) the procession of the attendants, proceeding to the boat, begins in one section and continues in the next.

(b) Within each framed composition the lesser personages are grouped or arranged around the centrally placed main figure of the incident, who is

<sup>21</sup> Stella Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, p. 96, No. 90 A-C. Dr. Stella Kramrisch dates this MS. to 1594 A.D.



drawn slightly larger than the others, thus emphasizing the functional importance of the figures rather than obeying any law of perspective.

(c) A third and distinguishing characteristic of this style is that the incidents are depicted against what appears like a stage back-drop, extending from one end of the frame to another with a noticeable sag in the middle, or hung in several waves. This is a feature that is really derived from the monastic style of painting, where it was used as a decorative background for the hieratic figures of gods and goddesses, but here it forms an integral part of the background irrespective of the locale or the natural setting demanded by the illustrated incident.

(d) Apart from the back-drop, the background is uniformly decorated with an ornate design of floral scroll in shades of red. This too is a feature that appears in earlier Nepali art, as we have already discussed, but the artists of this school show a special predilection for this convention.

(e) Compared to the well-proportioned and graceful figures of the paintings of the monastic style, as perceptible in the fragmentary *pata* of Samvara (Figs. 1-2), the figures in these paintings are somewhat thickset and broad, at times with almost disproportionately large faces, rather long noses, large eyes and feet. Occasionally the chin appears to be non-existent; elsewhere it has the tendency to assume the form of a loop. Thus, the physiognomy of the figures in these paintings appear to be quite distinctive and is unrelated to that of the figures seen in early manuscript illuminations or *patas*, or for that matter in those of the later period. Except where a deity is shown *en face*, the head of every figure is invariably portrayed in profile, even where the rest of the body is shown fully from the front.

(f) Another distinctive feature of this style is the relatively thick and heavy drawing, particularly if we compare the draughtsmanship with that of the fragmentary *pata* (Figs. 1-2) where the line is rendered with great delicacy and calligraphic precision. But, despite this thickness and cursive quality, the line achieves remarkable expressiveness, and the style attains a vivacious linearism seldom seen in Nepali paintings of the other periods.

(g) The psychology of the style is no doubt determined to a great extent by the function of the paintings. Concerned with simple narration, telling a story graphically, the style achieves considerable animation and mobility in contrast to the monastic style, which displays a purely spiritual intent, although not without a hieratic splendour. It is at the same time a remarkable testimony of the survival of tradition. This manner of visual narration began in India as early as in the art of Bhārhut and Sāñchi over seventeen centuries ago. Although there are perceptible stylistic differences, we find the tenacious persistence of the manner of continuous and almost uninterrupted narration, and the representation of the individual figures according to their functional

importance. But, on the other hand, there is nothing here of the richness of details, of landscape and of the naturalistic settings of either early Indian narrative art or of painting. Instead only those details have been included by the artist which are absolutely essential for the narration almost to the exclusion of others which may have helped to add to the visual effect.

Within the style itself the trait that seems to determine its particularly mobile and joyous qualities is the treatment of the background, like a stage, decorated with floral scroll ornamentations in shades of red. It is as if in the framing of each scene we are watching the performance on a shallow stage. The exuberant and undulating movement of the scroll work appears to have influenced the very delineation of the figures. Rarely do we find a figure straight and erect, but always swaying and curving in a languid and graceful manner, and with considerable rhythm. The emphasis of the style is no doubt in achieving a picturesque and decorative effect, and its appeal to the beholder is delightfully visual rather than intellectual. It is altogether a pretty and vivacious style, and while it draws elements from the more academic and hieratic monastic style, at the same time, it mingles traits — which give it its emotionally appealing qualities — from some form of popular art.

(k) The predilection of the artist to achieve a decorative effect is not only apparent in the employment of the richly ornamental background, but also in the delineation of the trees. Apart from serving the function of framing the scenes, even where they form an integral part of the background of an episode (Fig. 17), there is no attempt whatsoever to render them with any degree of naturalistic verisimilitude. Rather they appear as slender pillars, sometimes willowy and twisting to suit the demands of the composition, but generally straight with the leaves clustered at the top like a capital. The trunks are painted in horizontal strips of colours, and the same expressionistic application of gay colours is also apparent on the leaves, which are almost abstract, geometrical shapes. Thus, the representation only vaguely approximates to our conception of a tree. This conceptual character of the art is also evident in the delineation of the ocean and the rocks. The ocean is just a strip of water with fishes and tortoises swimming in it. As if to display his power of observation, the artist has added a bird catching a fish. The mountains (Fig. 12) are rendered as a formal, pyramidal arrangement of blocks in several tiers, unlike the earlier cubical actions painted in bright colours, with edges of uniform conical shapes, faced with woolly snows (Fig. 16).

(l) A remarkable variety of dress and textile designs are noticeable in these paintings. Generally, the upper portions of a woman's body are left bare, while the lower portions are clad in long skirts of broad stripes of blue and red. This sort of skirt first appears in early fifteenth century paintings and persists in later examples. A scarf, with a broad loop below the navel and the ends swinging along the sides, is thrown lightly across the shoulders more as a mannerism than with the intention of displaying modesty. At times the scarf does



not reach the shoulders, but is tucked in at the waist. Only occasionally are women seen wearing the long-sleeved blouse (Fig. 12) familiar in earlier Nepali paintings. The ornaments consist of plain bangles, necklaces, anklets and large, circular ear-rings. If the representation is of a queen or a deity (Figs. 15 and 17), she is seen wearing a tiara, otherwise the hair is simply pulled back and tied in a bun at the nape of the neck.

A much greater variety is displayed, however, in the manner of male attire. Often they are seen wearing a *dhoti*, extending only to the knees, of the same striped material as the woman's skirt. But many other printed textile designs may also be noticed. Although they are shown with a naked torso, they also are provided with a scarf. But elsewhere (Fig. 12) they wear a tight jacket, sometimes leaving a portion of the belly bare. Some of the personages (Figs. 12, 14) wear a long *jāma*, extending almost to the ankles, with V-shaped neck, long sleeves, and held to the waist with a sash or *kamarband*, without, however, an overhang as we find with the Rajput or Mughal *patkār*. It is also not quite clear whether the tight pyjamas are worn underneath. The scarf, hung from the shoulders and forming a broad loop below the waist, remains a part of this attire also. This long *jāma* is not quite what we find in contemporary or earlier Indian paintings, either of the Mughal or of the Rajput school.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand it seems to have appeared already in the fifteenth century Nepali paintings.<sup>13</sup> We know almost nothing of the earlier mode of Nepali dress, but, considering the climate, it is more than possible that they did not wear simply *dhotis* and leave the upper portion of the body bare. This sort of long *jāma* could have formed a part of their apparel from a time earlier than the fifteenth century, and subsequently it was modified, due to influences of Rajput and Mughal fashions, into the sort of short *jāma* that we find in later paintings and that they wear today.

Three principal types of head-dresses are shown in these paintings. The gods and royal personages are crowned, the Vajrāchāryas or people of the priestly class wear a conical cap, sometimes vaguely resembling a mitre, the sages have their hair tied in a top-knot (Fig. 15), but every one of the others, whether he be a donor, a merchant, a musician, or a barber, apparently without any social distinction, wears a kind of a heavy turban. The form of the turban, again different from those to be seen in later paintings which are more obviously of Indian derivation, may best be seen in the charming scene (Fig. 18) in which a couple is being shaved by two barbers. It is significant that the donors in the fifteenth and the sixteenth century *paṭas* do not wear any head dress. This would indicate that the custom of wearing such a turban was probably derived from India, although nowhere in contemporary or earlier Indian paintings do we find this exact mode of tying the turban. Perhaps, the difference is due to a local variation in the fashion.

<sup>12</sup> This *jāma* begins appearing in Indian painting of the fifteenth century. Editor.

<sup>13</sup> The figures of donors in the fifteenth century *paṭa* of Lakshacharya (Fig. 9), and in that of Chandra-mangala (Fig. 10) wear a similar dress held together by a plain sash.

(j) We have already remarked that the physiognomy of the figures is characterized by rather a large and pointed nose, a prominent mouth, half-moon shaped eyes with extended ends and with a tendency of the farther eye to protrude slightly when the figures are shown in profile. In the case of the male figures the torso consists of broad shoulders with swelling chest (Fig. 15) and a wasp-waist with large feet and hands. The subject matter demands the portrayal of various moods and expressions, which has been accomplished mostly by the employment of gestures of the hands (Figs. 14 and 18). Indeed, even later, under a strong Rajput-Mughal influence, one of the features that distinguishes the Nepali school of this style is the free and expressive use of the gestures, in continuation of the indigenous tradition. But at times the moods of anger or mischievousness are cleverly expressed by altering the shape of the eyes as in the scene where the monks and nuns are being beaten up by two angry men (Fig. 12) or in the scene of the shaving of the heads (Fig. 18) where the barbers have a mischievous but sparkling twinkle in their eyes.

Thus, although in the 1590 *Hitopadesa* paintings<sup>14</sup> we find an awareness of contemporary Indian styles of painting, which become a decisive influence on Nepali painting of the later half of the seventeenth century, for the most part these scroll paintings can be said to have been done in a purely Nepali style. It is, however, not an isolated style that appeared suddenly, but is related to the earlier monastic style in more than one way. In the application of colours, nothing new has been added to the palette, and ochre red remains the predominant and favourite colour of the Nepali artists. Despite the decorative flourish of these paintings, the sombre colours of the monastic style continue to be used in the same restrained manner. Not for a moment is the harmonious tonality given up, and the colours are applied with sympathy and an understanding of the needs of the composition as well as of the psychology of the subjects the painter had chosen to illustrate.

#### IV

Of considerable interest to the student of Hindu iconography are three Vaishnavite paintings belonging to the end of the seventeenth century. One of these (Fig. 19) was painted in the year N.S. 801/A.D. 1681, another (Fig. 20) in the year N.S. 806/A.D. 1686 and the third (Fig. 22) in the year N.S. 807/A.D. 1687. All three paintings were donated at the occasion of the performance of the Anantavratā, a Vaishnava festival that seems to have been very popular in Nepal. Although all three paintings depict Vaishnavite subject matter, they differ considerably in their iconography and compositional schemes.

In the 1681 *pata* (Fig. 19) the composition is dominated by the sectional representation of a temple placed on a lotus that appears to be floating in the waters. The shrine is of the same design as the Krishna temple in Pātan and shows a curious admixture of local and Indian architectural elements. It is

<sup>14</sup> Stella Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, p. 96.



separated from the rest of the painting by an exquisite design of the intertwined, multicoloured *nāgas* that rise from the waters below. An interesting element is the representation of the lizards along the projecting cave above the first storey. Within the temple the main shrine is occupied by Vishṇu standing against a canopy of *nāgas* flanked by two identical female figures. At either extremity Gaṇeśa Bahādur, the donor, also provided with a snake-canopy, stands to the left, and Garuḍa to the right. Gaṇeśa Bahādur is the principal donor of the *paṭa* and his inclusion within the shrine itself is rather unusual. The two female figures, with their different colours, probably represent Lakshmi and Sarasvatī, the two wives of Vishṇu. In the little shrines in the upper storeys are depicted twenty-three different forms of Vishṇu, and together with the central image of Śrīdhara, they comprise the group known as the twenty-four forms (*chaturvīṃśatimūrti*) of Vishṇu. In the same row as the principal divinities but outside the temple are Jaya and Gaṇeśa to the left and Vijaya and Kumāra to the right. Jaya and Vijaya are framed by two attendants and are, no doubt, two gatekeepers guarding the shrine.

The basement of the temple rests on a gigantic lotus that floats in the water, in which also float several other figures. The hieratic central figure is that of Vāsuki and the eight *nāgas* on either side represent the eight Vasus. In the first tier of the basement of the temple, each within a niche, are the Gotra-Rishis Viśvāmitra, Vasishṭha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhāradvāja, etc. On either side of this tier, at the two extremities, appear the personifications of the six days of the week except Ravi (Sunday). Above these six figures appear the kneeling figures of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa. In the next tier appear fifteen figures, the fourteen from the left representing the fourteen days of the lunar fortnight (*śuklapakṣa*) beginning with Pratipad, while the last figure represents Amāvasyā or the night of new moon. Amāvasyā is shown as half white and half green, signifying the seven brighter and the seven darker days of the fortnight. Along the sides and the top of the *paṭa*, in little vignettes, appear the Nakshatras, such as Pūrvā, Svāti, Rohiṇī, Anurādhā, Dhṛuva, etc., although some of them appear to be repeated. Along the bottom appear the twelve signs of the zodiac (*dvādaśarāśi*) flanked by Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs, each carrying a bag of jewels. The second row along the top of the *paṭa* is occupied by the ten Avatāras of Vishṇu. Immediately below, and on either side of the intertwined snake motif, the four tiers unfold the story of Ko Muni, who, in his wanderings through the forests, meets a bull, an elephant called Kisi, a horse known as Sunapa, the *nāga* Ananta and Vāsuki, and ultimately finds his way to Vishṇu.

The 1686 *paṭa* (Fig. 20) depicts a Vaishṇava *maṇḍala*, and, according to the inscription, the king of Bhatgaon Sumatijayajitāmitramalla was himself associated with the performance of the Anantavrata. Thus, in the panel at the bottom, while the figures to the left behind the standing priest are of the donor and his family, those to the right most likely represent the king along with other members of the royal family. In the centre of the *maṇḍala* Vishṇu is flanked by Lakshmi and Garuḍa. Lakshmi is four-armed and holds in her upper

hands the pot and a manuscript, while of the two lower hands, one is held near her breast in the *vyākhyānamudrā* and the other holds the stem of a lotus. Curiously, Garuḍa is represented with six hands. Two of his hands are held against the chest in *namaskāramudrā*, while the other four hold a lotus, a rosary, a pot and a parasol. In the second circle appear four different forms of Viṣṇu, in the third eight two-handed figures, each holding a lotus, while in the fourth circle appear fourteen other emanations of Viṣṇu. The eight figures in the third circle may represent the eight Vasus. In the four corners of the square of the *maṇḍala* appear Viṣṇu, Gaṇapati, Mahākāla and Devī, each accompanied by two attendants. Along the outside of this square are the Navagrahas and the Aṣṭadīpālas, together with Brahmā, Bhairava, Dvārapālas and other minor attendants. In the lower row, along the top of the *paṭa* the central figure of a multiarmed Viṣṇu is flanked by twelve of his emanatory forms. In the upper row are the representations of the ten Avatāras.

In the 1687 *paṭa* (Fig. 22) Viṣṇu, flanked by Lakṣmī and Garuḍa, stands on an elaborate throne. Both Lakṣmī and Garuḍa are two-armed, the right hand of Lakṣmī is in the *vyākhyānamudrā* and the left hand just hangs loosely along the side, while the two hands of Garuḍa are in the *namaskāramudrā*. In the tier immediately above the inscription the eight Vasus are represented in the water, and in the next row, against a hilly background, appear the Navagrahas. In the little squares along the sides of the inner rectangle are represented the Dīpālas and various other divinities, some of whom probably represent the Rishis. Along the upper section of this inner rectangle, once more against a hilly background, are represented Hindu gods such as Śiva, Brahmā, Indra, Chandra, Sūrya, etc. Outside this rectangle and along the two sides appear fourteen of Viṣṇu's twenty-four emanations while along the top are represented the ten Avatāras.

Thus we find that, although the manner of composition is different in each painting, there is considerable iconographic similarity in that the ten Avatāras are depicted in all three *paṭas* and a large number of the figures, comprising the *maṇḍala*, are of the twenty-four emanatory forms of Viṣṇu. Iconographically, the 1681 *paṭa* is the most elaborate, although there we are aided considerably in our identification by the labels inscribed next to each figure. Below each *paṭa* also appears a fire sacrifice attended by the donor and members of his family, and in two panels of the painting (Figs. 20-22) we see a figure dancing in the centre. Usually these scenes are found in the Buddhist *paṭas* of Nepal, and their inclusion at least in three Hindu paintings indicates that such was also the practice among the Nepali Hindus.

It has already been mentioned that according to the inscription of the 1686 *paṭa*, king Sumatijayajitāmitramalla was associated with the performance of the *vṛata* to commemorate which the painting was donated. Since he was the king of Bhatgaon, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the *paṭa*



was painted in Bhatgaon, a town that had, since its foundation, remained predominantly Hindu. And since there is a general stylistic affinity among all three paintings, we can safely assign them to the same school, although each is probably the work of a different artist.

Despite the iconographic similarities, such as the inclusion of the ten Avatāras, of many of the twenty-four forms of Vishnu, of the Dikpālas, the Śrīdhara form of Vishnu being the central figure in all the three *paṭas* and the personified forms of the first two Avatāras, Matsya and Kūrma, to enumerate only a few identical features, there can be little doubt that the *paṭas* were drawn after three different iconographical traditions. Of the three *paṭas* only the 1686 example (Fig. 20) is strictly a *maṇḍala* and the artists painting it had no doubt to meticulously follow the prescribed rules. The artists of the other two paintings may have enjoyed relatively more freedom but there too iconographic conventions predominate. As in all such painting symmetry is the keynote of the composition. The style in such cases is no doubt determined to a large extent by the iconographic contents and the figures stand or sit according to hieratic demands. Essentially figural, the paintings continue the lyrically linear style of the early part of the century without, however, sharing the dramatic intent of the narrative scrolls.

Although the artists have not employed the exuberant floral scroll for the background, there is nonetheless a decorative flavour and ornateness in these paintings as is evident from the use of the floral designs along the borders, the exquisitely rendered *torāṇa* in the central section of the 1687 painting (Fig. 22) — as rich and intricate in its design as the elaborately carved pediments one finds in later Khmer architecture of Cambodia — and the delicate and refined drawings of the lotus petals in both the 1686 and the 1687 *paṭas* (Figs. 20-22).

## V

The story of art in Nepal is one of constant absorption and reinterpretation of Indian styles. But the Nepali artist was never a mere imitator and as he drew from many sources over different periods he assimilated these borrowed elements into his artistic tradition according to his own predilection and exigency. Hence, it is often difficult to trace the precise Indian source in as much as one can always distinguish a work of art of Nepali origin with confidence. Particularly from the seventeenth century onwards we find paintings in Nepal which, sometimes blatantly imitate miniatures of the Rajput and Mughal styles, but mostly adopt specific features and integrate them into the indigenous tradition.

In the 1681 *paṭa* of Vishnu (Fig. 19) we have a graphic example of the fusion of Rajasthani features in the Nepali style. In the depiction of the legend

of Ko Muni, the figure of the Muni may well have been lifted from such an illuminated page of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from Mewar dated in the year 1649 A.D. Ko Muni wears a *dhōṭī* very similar to those worn by the figures in the Mewar painting, and is bearded with the hair gathered in a single top-knot as we find in one of the priests seated around the fire in the Mewar painting. It must, however, be pointed out that a similar figure of a *muni* occurs in one of the early seventeenth century scrolls (Fig. 15), but the dress there is quite different. Moreover, the treatment of the trees, overgrown with creepers and flowery plants, is very reminiscent of still earlier Rajasthani paintings, as for example the sixteenth century miniature from a manuscript of the *Gīta Govinda*.

The Rajasthani influence is even more blatant in the long scroll depicting part of the story of Sudhanakumāra as recounted in the *Divyāvadāna*.<sup>15</sup> Here once again we find the continuous narration of the earlier scrolls. The figures are portrayed in two even tiers but are integrated in the same plane somewhat similar to the arrangement in the Mewar *Rāmāyaṇa* paintings, but unlike the distinct bandlike disposition of the earlier scrolls. There is also a new consciousness of landscaping by a deep shade of green with a wavy, thick and dark line separating the foreground from the higher ground, which is of uniform red in the typically Nepali fashion. The figures stand or sit in two uniform rows along the bottom and along the wavy ridge. Slim, tall trees help to break up the visual continuity and convey the sense of some sort of a frame-work in the composition. Occasionally we find the tall palm which is no doubt taken from Rajasthani paintings<sup>16</sup> as the palm is not a tree familiar in the hills. Architectural motifs are added where required and the designs combine elements from both the Rajasthani and the Nepali styles. The upper section of the scroll is damaged and probably showed a bluish sky with Nepali clouds. Along the lower section runs an arrangement of geometric shapes of different colours creating a peculiarly three-dimensional effect, a feature that appears in some of the murals at Ellora. Although the trees and plants reflect a great variety of types in the shapes and forms of their leaves and flowers, their conceptual character is quite apparent. A typically Nepali feature is the manner of delineation of the mountains which also is conceptual. But unlike the earlier prismatic treatment, they are a conglomeration of snowy peaks, drawn in a peculiarly jerky manner, at times smoothly rounded off, but usually conveying the impression of jagged peaks and ridges. It is noteworthy that in the *paṭa* of 1681 (Fig. 19) the ground in the portion depicting the legend of Ko Muni is painted in a similar fashion. Since this particular treatment of the mountains is not known to occur in later Nepali paintings, it would seem logical to assign the scroll of Sudhanakumāra to the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>17</sup> Water is delineated in spiral shapes of a basket pattern in a very formal way as in the 1687 *paṭa* of Viṣṇu and is

<sup>15</sup> For a detailed identification of the episodes see, Moti Chandra, 'A Painted Scroll from Nepal', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 1, 1930-31, pp. 6-14.

<sup>16</sup> As for instance in an early Bundi painting, cf. Pramod Chandra, *Bundi Painting*, New Delhi, 1959, Fig. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Dr. Moti Chandra has assigned it to c. 1725 A.D.



reminiscent of the similar treatment of water in the Mewar *Rāmāyana* paintings.<sup>18</sup>

Both Rajasthani and Mughal influences are also apparent in another scroll in the collection depicting the incidents from the life of the Buddha until his enlightenment (Fig. 23). Compared to the succinct manner of narration of the same episodes in the *paṭa* of Lakshachaitya (Fig. 7), far more details are included in this painting. The incidents are unfolded in five horizontal bands against a rich mountainous background. Specific influences from Rajasthan, particularly Mewar, are to be seen in some of the trees where the leaves are painted in silver-grey, in the use of yellow as background within the building where the conception takes place<sup>19</sup> in the extreme left of the second band, and in the drawing of the animals such as the horse and the cattle. There is a distinct difference in the form of the horse in the fifteenth century *paṭa* of Lakshachaitya (Fig. 7) or in the early seventeenth century scrolls (Fig. 17) and in that we see in these paintings. In the earlier paintings the horse appears as rather a heavy and thick animal without the grace or rhythm inherent in the form of this noble animal. There perhaps we have the portrayal of some kind of a mountain pony. In these paintings, however, although the body is still rather heavy, the animal is of the Persian variety with a long, slender neck and thin legs as we find in contemporary Mughal and Rajput miniatures. Indeed, in the Sudhanakumāra scroll as well, some of the animal studies such as those that can be faintly discerned to the left are remarkably similar to the deer that we see in the illustration from the *Rāmāyana*.

In the Sudhanakumāra scroll the male attire almost invariably consists of the shorter *jāma*, extending a little below the knee, held together by a sash or a *paṭkā*, which is of a different printed design. In the other scroll (Fig. 23) both the short and the long varieties of the *jāma* are used. In both cases the dress appears to be a slightly modified version of those seen in contemporary Rajasthani and Mughal paintings. Similarly, a wide variety of turbans, quite different from those in the early seventeenth century scrolls, can be seen on the heads of the males in both the scrolls, although some of the lesser figures wear caps that are no doubt the forerunners of the present day Nepali caps. The turbans here appear to be somewhat heavier versions of those that we find in the Mughal paintings of the Shāh Jahān Period or in the 1649 Mewar *Rāmāyana* miniatures. Some of the turbans of the important personages are provided with a plume, as for instance in the turbans of king Siddhodhana and the young prince Siddhārtha (Fig. 23). The plume also occurs on the turbans of the king and other royal figures in the 1686 *paṭa* of Vishnu while the donors there wear turbans without the plume. A curious headdress is the tall cap or

<sup>18</sup> Moti Chandra, "Paintings from an Illustrated version of the Rāmāyana, Painted at Udaipur in A.D. 1646", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 5, 1955-57, p. 49, pl. 15.

<sup>19</sup> It is interesting that instead of the elephant entering into Māyā's womb, here we find Brahmā descending in a cloud.

hat — sort of a combination between a top-hat and the type of hats that bridegrooms often wear in India — that some of the ladies wear in the Sudhanakumāra scroll and also in the Kṛishṇalīlā scroll in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras (Fig. 24). Possibly, it is derived from the Chughtai caps that ladies are seen to wear in early Mughal paintings<sup>20</sup>. In the scroll depicting the life of the Buddha we also find that king Siddhodhana and his courtiers are bearded and so there seems little doubt that the painters of these scrolls were well aware of both Mughal and Rajasthani styles of painting.

The composition of the scenes and the spatial inter-relation between the figures in the Sudhanakumāra scroll are marked by a simplicity and clarity that we also encounter in the Kṛishṇalīlā scroll in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan (Fig. 24) of the year 1692 to which the Sudhanakumāra scroll must be coeval. Whether standing or sitting, each figure appears to be an independent unit, and, despite the heroic quality of the style, there is a hieratic stiffness in the formal postures, particularly of the male, emphasized by the sharp outline of the dress. In the scroll depicting the life of the Buddha, however, both the composition and the spatial relationship are far more complex, but skillfully handled by the artist. Instead of the single file of figures — portrayed against a flat background, where mountains and rivers are added merely as patterns, — here we find an attempt to indicate both sequence and a feeling of depth by the distribution and grouping of the figures at several levels against a continuous hilly background. On several occasions groups of people are also shown with an awareness of perspective and a more realistic spatial relationship.

But despite the borrowings of physiognomical types, modes of dresses, as well as the manner of representation, particularly in the introduction of landscaping, the Nepali character of these paintings remains indubitable. In the delineation of the women specially the Nepali artists seem to have favoured their traditional types that we see as early as in the figures of the donors in the fifteenth century *paṭas*. The dress continues to be of the earlier type consisting of a long flowing skirt of gaily printed materials and without the frontal pleats that are to be seen in the skirts worn by the women in Rajasthani miniatures, a blouse or a *choli* of striped material, and an *odhni* that goes across the breasts in a narrow band and hangs down either to the left or to the right. Apart from the representation of the women with specifically Nepali features, as is evident in the scroll portraying the incidents from the life of the Buddha (Fig. 23) the manner of delineating the mountainscape with woolly caps of snow, the clouds of cotton balls with a trailing tail like that of kite, local architectural designs, and the sombre use of the traditional colours are also Nepali. Although we have now and again noticed the use of colours in the Rajasthani manner particularly in the employment of green for the foreground and brown and yellow for the background within buildings, in general, the Nepali artists did not draw to enrich their palette by adding any

<sup>20</sup> Stuart Cary Welch, *The Art of Mughal India*, New York, 1963, pl. 26.



exotic and bright shades from the repertoire of either the Mughal or Rajasthani painters.

It would be relevant here to discuss the possible relation of these Nepali paintings with those from Basohli. Writing in 1921 S. N. Gupta suggested that the Basohli paintings 'have no direct connection with Tibetan or Nepalese paintings beyond the fact that the peculiar colour scheme in both the types is very much the same.'<sup>21</sup> M. S. Randhawa comments that 'in the end of the seventeenth century, a mixed Rajput-Mughal style with brilliant red and yellow colour schemes was introduced in Nepal which also continued in the eighteenth century. Resemblance with Basohli paintings in the colour scheme as well as in the clothes of male and female figures can be detected in these Nepalese paintings. However, apart from the distance and the lack of geographical continuity between the two States, there was no relationship between the Rajahs of Basohli and the Gurkha rulers of Nepal. It appears to be more a case of parallel development, and resemblances between the two schools of painting are satisfactorily explained if a common source of artists is assumed.'<sup>22</sup>

It appears that both Gupta and Randhawa insist on the resemblance between the colour schemes of the Basohli and the Nepali paintings. But really nothing could be more dissimilar. The red and yellow used by the Nepali are an ochre-red and a dull yellow, which have always been employed by the Nepali artists and owe nothing either to the Basohli or the Rajasthani styles, where we find a much richer and brighter tonality of both these primary colours. Nor is the similarity in the male attire borne out by a careful comparison between Basohli and Nepali paintings. Perhaps, the most significant factor against a possible Basohli influence on these Nepali scrolls is that the earliest dated documents where Mughal-Rajput features appear are the 1681 *paṭa* of Vishnu (Fig. 19) and, more obviously, in the 1692 scroll (Fig. 24). On the other hand we know of no miniature from Basohli that is definitely dated in the seventeenth century. However, Randhawa is certainly right in concluding that if there are resemblances between the Basohli and Nepali painting in the seventeenth century these must be attributed to both styles having a common source. That source could only be paintings of the Mughal-Rajput styles which probably found their way into the courts in the mountains in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Ultimately, in such paintings as the scroll depicting many different forms of Avalokīteśvara (Figs. 25-26), belonging probably to the first half of the eighteenth century, we find a complete integration of all extraneous elements into a style that is essentially Nepali. Iconographically, the interest of the *paṭa* lies in the varied forms of Lokēśvara, such as Padmanartteśvara, Sahasrabhuja and others, often accompanied by various Tathāgatas such as Samantabhadra,

<sup>21</sup> M. S. Randhawa, *Basohli Painting*, Delhi, 1959, p. 12.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

Vajrasattva, Sākyamuni and the principal Brahmanical gods. Stylistically, the figures, whether of divinities or others, are of tall and slim proportions in contrast to those of the seventeenth century scrolls, the animals such as the elephant or the peacock are rendered with considerable naturalism, while the architectural designs are entirely Nepali. Despite their hieratic character, the figures are drawn rather vigorously and display a considerable degree of movement and animation.

## VI

It remains for us to discuss two more *paṭas* which reflect an altogether different style. One of these is a *paṭa* of Vasudhārā (Fig. 27) which, according to the inscription, was dedicated in the year 908 N.S./A.D. 1788. Among the figures accompanying Vasudhārā, the goddess of wealth, are her consort Jambhala, Ushnīshavijaya, and the five Pañcarakṣā deities along the bottom of the *paṭa*. The other painting (Fig. 28), dated in the year N.S. 941/A.D. 1821, is rather difficult to identify. The white male with three heads, seated in *vajraparyāṅkāśana*, is six-armed. Two of the hands are displaying the *dharma-chakrapravartanamudrā*, the two remaining right hands hold the trident and the rosary and the two remaining left hands hold a bow with an arrow and a manuscript. The Tathāgata on top is Vajrasattva, which is rather unusual. The Bodhisattva emanating from Vajrasattva is Ghaṇṭāpāṇi, but certainly this central figure is not a representation of any known form of Ghaṇṭāpāṇi. The two other possibilities are that he is either a form of Avalokiteśvara or of Mañjuśrī. However, Avalokiteśvara usually with a lotus, is not commonly known to display the *dharma-chakrapravartanamudrā*, nor to belong to the family of Vajrasattva. There are more reasons to identify him as a special form of Mañjuśrī, particularly because he displays the *dharma-chakrapravartanamudrā* and holds the manuscript. Moreover, in the Mañjuvajra *maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpanna-yogāvalī* the Bodhisattva is identified with the Tathāgata Vajrasattva.

The fact that both paintings have Newari inscriptions may be considered as evidence *prima facie* for attributing them to Nepal. But the inscription in the painting of Vasudhārā clearly states that it was painted in Tibet for a visiting Newari tradesman. Although the inscription in the other painting is too effaced, possibly this was also painted in Tibet for another Nepali patron. The style in which both the paintings have been executed is altogether Tibetan. From the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries a number of *paṭas* have come down to us which have Newari inscriptions but were actually painted in Tibet. Of course, it was also common practice in this period for the Nepali artists to copy such paintings in Nepal, and in a large number of *paṭas* one finds the appearance of Tibetan elements, in the mode of dress, architectural motifs, landscape designs, a different tonality in the blue and green and a liberal use of gold. *Paṭas* such as these must have served as models for the Nepali artists and would explain the preponderance of Tibetan elements in the later Nepali paintings.

This brief survey of almost five hundred years' of Nepali painting reveals the richness of the tradition not only in the contents of the art but also in their varied forms and styles. Iconographically, the material is immensely interesting and a more detailed study will yield rich dividends. Stylistically, we find that the Nepali artists have always remained open to extraneous influences, which they have skillfully integrated to enrich their indigenous tradition according to their own predilections and artistic intent.



## A PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT OF THE REIGN OF BĀYEZĪD II WITH OTTOMAN MINIATURES

G. M. Meredith-Owens

In recent years much light has been thrown on the development of Ottoman Turkish miniature painting by the discovery of two manuscripts copied and illustrated during the reign of Bāyezīd II (1481-1512). One of these is the copy of the *Khutrev ū Shirin* of Sheikhī in the University Library at Uppsala (No. 185) dated 905/1499. An admirable article on the miniatures was published by Dr. Carl Lamm who subjected them to a detailed study in which he traced their connection with the later Herat style and isolated the Turkish elements as far as possible.<sup>1</sup> The other manuscript, the *Sūleymān-nāme* of Uzun Firdevsī, copied for Bāyezīd II, was described by the late Professor Minorsky in his *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures* in the Chester Beatty Library at Dublin.<sup>2</sup> In both these manuscripts we see the beginnings of a distinctive Ottoman style which differs from contemporary Persian taste, tentatively at first, but with increasing confidence as the sixteenth century advances. Some time ago Mr. R. A. Skelton of the Victoria and Albert Museum drew my attention to the existence of a manuscript in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India at Bombay which contains a series of Ottoman miniatures of early date. Thanks to his good offices and the kind help of the Director of the Museum, Dr. Moti Chandra, I received both colour transparencies and photographs of this manuscript (P.O.W. 51.34) which was acquired in 1951. On examination I was able to identify the work as a Persian metrical translation of the well-known Fables of Bīdpā'i, *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*, made about 658/1259-60 for the Seljuk Sultan of Rūm, 'Izz al-Dīn Kai-Kā'ūs II, by Bahā al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd of Tūs who adopted the *takhalluṣ* of Qānī'i. This work is known only from one copy, now in the British Museum,<sup>3</sup> dated 863/1468-9, which lacks a short prelude found in the Bombay manuscript. The latter consists of 151 folios and measures 25.3 x 18.3 cm. It is written in a good clear *Nasikh* and the 'uncān with floral decoration of trefoils in blue, green, red and gold is of a typical Ottoman type.

The manuscript, according to the colophon, was copied by the *Kātib* Dā'ūd of İncəpazar on the 7th (*fi zā*) of Dhū'l-Qa'dah in the year 900 which corresponds to July 30th, 1495. It is very strange that the numeral seven is

<sup>1</sup> *Miniatures from the reign of Bāyezīd II in a manuscript belonging to Uppsala University Library*, in *Orientalia Suecana* Vol. 1 (Fasc. 3/4, 1953).

<sup>2</sup> No. 406 (described on pp. 9-10 of the *Catalogue*).

<sup>3</sup> Add. 7766. See Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, ii, pp. 382-4.

expressed in the colophon by the Arabic letter *zā*. On the last folio the same hand has added in Arabic 'in the pleasant city of Constantinople'.

The seven miniatures vary considerably in size and are in an excellent state of preservation. By comparing the treatment of the background in all seven, it seems that the work of two artists is represented in this manuscript. In the first three miniatures the vegetation receives rather summary treatment and is expressed by one to three tufts of dark green spiky grass and brightly coloured flowers, some growing straight out of the ground with little or no stem and few leaves. As a contrast, the other four miniatures show a much more ambitious rendering of the background with naturalistic flowers, although the simple landscape formula remains virtually unchanged in all but one of the four.

On the whole, the strongest influence comes from the Turkman style. The 'utility' background, here coloured golden-yellow in every case, the large and striking abstract flowers, and the bowed tree with three bushy tops and 'eyes' along the trunk have affinities with the works executed at Shirāz during the latter half of the 15th century.<sup>4</sup> Certain features suggest that the artists were inspired by a Persian original but did not make a direct copy, taking care at the same time not to exceed the limits of their capacity. The absence of any horizon, the figures of men and animals superimposed on a background from which they often seem quite detached, and the avoidance of the more elaborate scenes found in fine illuminated Timurid copies of *Kalilah wa Dimnah* indicate that the artists were not altogether on familiar ground. It is strange that the first miniature is painted upside down and that a lion is substituted for a cat in an illustration to a well-known incident. While it is not uncommon to find minor details in an illustration which do not correspond to the text, such a glaring mistake, doubtless due to a misunderstanding of the subject, certainly adds colour to the view that we are not dealing with a copy.<sup>5</sup> Although the two artists are much less original than the painter of the fifteen Uppsala miniatures, they were following a convention which governed all *Kalilah wa Dimnah* illustrations throughout Islamic history from which they could not deviate even if they had wished;<sup>6</sup> but for all that they were very successful in making a direct appeal to the reader. Their preference for certain dark reds is very Turkish, likewise the large turbans, and the red cheeks of some of the figures are an interesting archaism found also in the Chester Beatty *Sūleymān-nāmah*.

A few of these miniatures have already been published by Professor

<sup>4</sup> Similar trees are found in the Uppsala manuscript. The cross-hatching (e.g. around the pool in the sixth miniature) occurs frequently in the British Museum manuscript Add. 18188—a *Shāhnāmah* copied in 891/1486; assigned by Mr. B. W. Robinson to the Turkman style.

<sup>5</sup> The copyist was evidently weak in Persian, judging from the state of the colophon the greater part of which defies translation in its present form; and we may be sure that the artists knew even less of the language.

<sup>6</sup> See Hugo Buchthal, *Indian Fables in Islamic Art*, JRAS, 1941, Part 4, pp. 317-324.



Stchoukine; nevertheless I should like to describe them all so that their relationship to one another can be considered:—

1. (Fol. 52 Ob.) This miniature has been painted upside down in relation to the text. It illustrates the story of the crow, the wolf and the crafty jackal who were in the service of a lion and obtained their food from his leavings. One day a sick camel belonging to a merchant was allowed by the lion to join the group. The camel recovered his health and waxed fat on the rich pasture. Unhappily for him, the lion was wounded in a fight with an elephant and became unable to hunt. All the flesh-eaters were in great distress until the crow devised a stratagem to turn the camel into food. He proposed that all four should offer themselves as a sacrifice to feed the lion but, as each one did so, the others would raise some objection. When the unsuspecting camel's turn came, they praised his magnanimity but took him at his word and tore him to pieces. The lion has a more elaborate mane than in contemporary Persian miniatures—as a rule, Bihzād's lions are maneless. Of the other animals the drawing of the wolf and the jackal give an impression of alertness but the crow (painted grey like the wolf) which resembles a parrot is less successful. In the colours of the flowers dark red predominates. (Fig. 29.)

2. (Fol. 53 Rev.) This is the well-known story of the tortoise and his friends the geese who lived by a lake which began to dry up. When the geese wished to move to another lake, the tortoise would not be parted from them so they carried him holding on by his mouth to a stick, here shown as a branch of a tree—a pleasant touch of realism. When he gave some indignant repartee to those on the ground who expressed their surprise at the sight, he fell to his destruction. In some representations of this scene mallard ducks appear but here we have white geese with every feather minutely shown and red beaks. All the bystanders wear large white turbans tied round a red cap. Of the two figures on the left, one wears a deep red kaftan while the other is in gamboge. The man seated on the ground in the centre biting his finger in a gesture of astonishment is dressed in deep blue. Another man on the right lies resting in a languid attitude on a gamboge cushion. His inner garment is coloured carmine and his kaftan is magenta. All these figures wear shoes and girdles of different colours. (Fig. 30.)

3. (Fol. 55 Ob.) This is also a scene very popular with miniaturists. Here the lion attacks and kills the wise and faithful ox Shanzabeh as a result of the jackal Dimnah's intrigues. Remorse comes too late but Dimnah receives condign punishment. The flowers which are all of the same abstract cyclamen type are coloured blue in this miniature. (Fig. 31.)

4. (Fol. 76 Rev.) In Kashmir a crow made its nest in a large tree under which a fowler set his trap baited with grain. Fearing for his life, the crow remained in hiding and watched a flock of hungry pigeons arrive. They fell upon the grain and were caught in the net despite the warnings of their leader.

In desperation they listened to the advice of this wise pigeon and beat their wings all together. The net rose under their united efforts and flew to a safe distance. The fowler pursued them for a while but soon gave up the chase. The crow, however, curious to see how they would escape, also followed them. At length they reached the mouse Zirak who gnawed through the meshes of the net and set them free. The crow has a long red bill like a chough. The fowler wears a magenta kaftan with red boots or leggings and a crooked whistle in his belt. (Fig. 32.)

5. (Fol. 88 Ob.) The crow and the mouse Zirak, finding that they had much in common, became great friends. They associated with a tortoise and later encountered a deer which lived in fear of hunters. One day the deer did not come to the bamboo thicket which had become the rendezvous for the four friends. The crow flew about to see what had happened and found that the deer was caught in a snare. All three went to the rescue and within a short time, the mouse released the deer. The slow-moving tortoise arrived on the scene at this juncture, although the deer, praising his fidelity, warned him that he could not escape like the others if the hunter returned. The inevitable happened and the hunter caught the tortoise, placing him in his bag. This time the hunter is a younger man wearing dark red and the vegetation is deep green with a few sparse red flowers. A magpie instead of the crow is perching on the tree. The rocks at the base of the tree are brown whereas they are dark green in the previous illustration. (Fig. 33.)

6. (Fol. 89 Rev.) This scene shows the escape of the tortoise. His friends agreed upon the following ruse. The deer was to limp away with the crow on his back, pretending to peck out his eyes as though he were attacking a fatigued or wounded animal. While the hunter went after the deer in the hope of an easy capture, the mouse Zirak released the tortoise from the bag. When the hunter returned, he thought that the fairies had been at work so he shunned the spot ever after. Once more the hunter wears dark red and the vegetation is mostly green. The crow and the lake are both coloured blue-grey. (Fig. 34.)

7. (Fol. 121 Ob.) The last miniature in this series depicts the story of the rat and the cat—in this illustration a lion is shown as we have mentioned previously. In the wilderness a rat lived in a hole under a tree. A cat which lived nearby was trapped in a hunter's net. The rat emerged from his hole and rejoiced to see his deadly enemy a prisoner; but his joy was short-lived because he saw an ichneumon lying in wait for him while from the top of the tree a bird of prey was waiting to swoop. To save himself from disaster, the rat made a pact with the cat whereby they were to help each other—the cat was to protect the rat who undertook to set him free. The rat, however, mistrusted the cat and was unwilling to loosen the last knot even though the cat assured him that he had nothing to fear. Their long parleying was interrupted by the hunter whereupon the rat gnawed through the remaining strands and the cat fled up



into the tree. The rat disappeared down his hole and would have nothing further to do with the cat although the latter was filled with gratitude. The moral is that in times of emergency, one can invoke the aid of an enemy but one must always be cautious. This scene is perhaps the best of the hunter and tree group and is more naturalistic than the others. The hunter is in dark blue. No ichneumon or bird of prey is visible in the miniature but the artist has painted two partridges or francolins (?), one of which is unfinished, in the top right hand corner. The two long-tailed birds in the tree resemble the pair of magpies which occur in many Timurid manuscripts, particularly of the time of Bihzād. The trunk of the tree is coloured pink here. (Fig. 35.)

There is some reason for regarding these as the earliest Ottoman illustrations to *Kalilah wa Dimnah*. They are certainly the prototype of those in the finer and more elaborately decorated manuscripts British Museum Add. 15153 (of which the latter half is dated 997/1589) and the Topkapi Sarayı R. 843 which has 88 miniatures painted ca. 964/1557. In both of these, especially in the former, the Persian element has been considerably modified to conform with Turkish taste. An undated fragment of an unidentified prose translation of *Kalilah wa Dimnah* in the British Museum with four miniatures (Or. 7354) may belong to an intermediate stage but with its more pronounced Ottoman colouring, it would seem to date from the latter years of the 16th century. In maintaining a good standard throughout the whole seven, the unknown artists who illustrated the Bombay manuscript did much towards establishing a new genre in Ottoman painting.



## AN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF THE DĀRĀB NĀMA

Moti Chandra

In 1963 the Collector of Customs, Bombay, presented to the Prince of Wales Museum, some Persian and Arabic manuscripts, confiscated from the foreigners who wanted to take them outside the country in contravention to the Antiquities Export Control Act 1947. The collection included an illustrated copy of the *Dārāb nāma*,<sup>1</sup> interesting from several view points.

The *Kitāb-i-Dārāb nāma*, as it is called, is written in Persian in Nastaliq script and has 326 folios, each folio measuring 21 × 32 cm., with the written space measuring 12.6 × 21.3 cm. containing approximately twenty-three lines. The book contains fifty marginal illustrations in *siyāh qalam* style with the details slightly accentuated in colours. It has no colophon, though a seal and an inscription in the beginning of the book are of interest.

The seal reads: *Āṣif Jāh Qiyām-ul-Mulk 1190 A.H./1776 A.D.* The seal of Āṣif Jāh Qiyām-ul-Mulk.

The inscription in Persian reads: *Kitāb Dārāb nāma dar Āgra hadiyā (?) kardū dar khāna Mīrzā Nūrullah . . .*

Apparently the work *Dārāb nāma* presented (?) at the house of Nūrullah situated at Agra.

The seal clearly indicates that in 1776 A.D. the book was in the possession of one Āṣif Jāh who might have been some relation of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

The second inscription is interesting as it informs us that perhaps the book was illustrated and presented at Agra. The style of the miniatures is Popular Mughal and the manuscript could be dated to c. 1625 A.D. on stylistic grounds.<sup>2</sup>

The *Dārāb nāma* by Abū Ṭāhir Ṭarsūsi is divided into two sections of unequal length. The story begins with the mention of the three sons of Zāl-i-Zar and the artifice with which Shaghād compassed the death of his brother, Rustam. After giving a brief account of Bahman and Ardashīr, we are informed how Humāyī gave birth to Ardashīr's posthumous child, afterwards called

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. M. Ghous for certain information on the story of *Dārāb nāma*.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Khandalavala, Moti Chandra and Pramod Chandra, *Miniature Paintings from the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection*, New Delhi, 1960, pp. 14-15, figs. 23-26.

Dārāb, and floated him in a coffer in the Euphrates. After his death Dārāb junior ascended the throne. He built a wall against Yājuj and Mājuj, journeyed to the land of darkness and to the spring of the Water of Life, and from thence his miraculous conveyance to the Mt. Qāf.<sup>2</sup> The second part of the book deals with the adventures of Sikandar.

Though the model of the *Dārāb nāma* is based on the *Shāh nāma*, exploits of the heroes are mixed up and a large number of fables are introduced.

The only illustrated copy of the *Dārāb nāma* is in the collection of the British Museum (Or. 4615) which deals only with the first part of the story. The manuscript was probably written before 1583 A.D. and the large number of illustrations accompanying it must have taken a few years to paint. It has been suggested that perhaps the *Dārāb nāma* was illustrated at Lahore. "The drawing is vigorous and strong, sometimes even coarse, and the colours vivid and even crude, far removed from the quiet tones of the Safavi school — all except one leaf which bears the unexpected name of Abdal-Samad. The more forward-looking artists who participated are Miskina, Nanha and Bhurah, Sarwan and Kanha. All but the last show some familiarity with western art, while Kanha and Nanha also depict Deccani costumes, thus revealing a wider horizon. These are a minority of the illustrations, and these artists are mostly represented by only one miniature apiece. Miskina and Basawan were to become two of the leading painters in the last years of Akbar's reign; and Kanha and Sarwan also flourished until the end of that period. The *Darab-nama* is thus most significant for its promise for the future and its evidence of the vigour of the school at this time. The bulk of the miniatures are dominated by the harsh reds and greens which seem to characterize the palette of Lahore."<sup>4</sup>

The Prince of Wales Museum *Dārāb nāma* is unique in several ways. Firstly, while the British Museum *Dārāb nāma* contains only the first part, the Prince of Wales Museum copy has both the parts illustrated. Secondly, while the British Museum *Dārāb nāma* is the product of the imperial atelier, the Prince of Wales Museum's copy is in the Popular Mughal style which shows that the story of *Dārāb nāma* was popular in a certain section of the people. Thirdly, while the British Museum copy could be dated to c. 1585 A.D., the Prince of Wales Museum copy, on stylistic grounds, belongs to the c. 1625 A.D.

The most important feature of the illustrations of the Prince of Wales Museum *Dārāb nāma* is their format. It is significant to note here that except for the illustration on the last page which is a full page illustration, the rest of the illustrations occupy one, two or even three margins of the folios. This reminds us of the illustrated manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* in which as remarked

<sup>2</sup> Charles Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1895, pp. 240-241.

<sup>4</sup> Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, *Painting of India*, Skira edition, 1963, p. 86.



by Basil Gray, "... the idea of the miniature as a background to the text is carried on to an extreme; for it either surrounds the text on three sides, thus completely covering the exceptionally large page (41.5 by 22 cm.), or forms bars across the text, which is used to hide the composition into different sections illustrating separate events."<sup>5</sup>

As has been pointed out before, the miniatures are entirely in line drawing, and therefore, the background colours appear nowhere. But to accentuate certain details of the composition—the human figures, architectural details, the furniture and the landscape are accentuated by the slight application of colours—yellow, green, blue, carmine and gold. The use of verdigris has at times cut through the pages. The arm-pit shading is a characteristic feature of the illustrations.

The largeness of the folios (21 × 32 cm.) and the margins (6 cm.) provided the artist with ample space which gave him opportunity not only to expand his composition but to avoid the overcrowding of vertical composition.

The composition is narrative, and relationship between the groups and incidents is well maintained. The illustrations generally represent outdoor scenes; the court and battle scenes are also common.

The human figure is typically of Jahāngīr period with the face delineated in the three-quarter profile. It is, however, significant to note that while in the court art of the Jahāngīr period, the figure drawing suffers from a certain stiffness reflecting strict court etiquette, the figure drawing in the Popular Mughal style of the Jahāngīr period is relaxed and full of movement, fully in keeping with the spirit of the fast moving narration. Immobile postures except in the court scenes are avoided and the sense of animation and movement is obtained by the figures engaged in various vocations. The landscape is typically of the Jahāngīr period. The artist is very fond of riparian scenes, with the water depicted by plain or rippling lines. The representation of hills follows the naturalistic or Persian pattern.

Above all, the illustrations of the *Dārāb nāma* take us to the world of romance and adventures in which, strangely enough, love hardly plays any significant part. Here the heroes of the story Dārāb and Sikandar fight many a heroic battle, putting to flight men and demons, going through the hilly forests teeming with wild animals and sailing on the high seas, to visit the island of cannibals. It is an art which takes us away from the strict formalities of the court art and reaches us to a world of make belief in which the heroes had hardly any time for living the life of luxury in palaces, presiding over formal courts and enjoying music and dancing in the company of beautiful girls.

<sup>5</sup> Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 90.



**Catalogue of the illustrations :**

1. Fol. 2 Ob. The death of Ardešhīr.

The scene is laid in a hilly landscape strewn with boulders and covered with sparse vegetation. A dragon has caught the left foot of Ardešhīr who is shown falling down. His caparisoned horse stands in a corner.

2. Fol. 3 Ob. Humāyī, wife of Ardešhīr, with her posthumous child Dārāb.

The picture is slightly damaged. The scene is laid on the bank of a river, with a washerman engaged feverishly in his vocation. On one side appears a washing board and a slab on which the washerman is bending down and talking to Humāyī who is holding the child. On the other side, appear a bundle of washed clothes and a line on which the clothes are hanging for drying.

3. Fol. 6 Ob. Dārāb recounting the events of war between him and Zohāk.

The scene is laid outside the palace gate. Dārāb is recounting his adventures in the war between himself and Zohāk to a group of five men, two of whom are seated.

4. Fol. 10 Ob. An episode from the adventures of Humāyī.

The scene is laid in a hilly landscape. On one side, a man is being tied to a tree while another seated on the ground is witnessing the scene. Humāyī is rushing towards a group of three men holding what appears to be a key.

5. Fol. 16 Rev. Humāyī's dream.

The scene is laid in a rocky landscape. On one side a dragon is emitting fire from its mouth on a man lying on the ground with his hands and feet tied. On the other side, a man with drawn up sword is rushing towards two men who are fleeing for their lives; two men are onlookers.

6. Fol. 19 Ob. Dārāb catching a wild ass.

On one side, Dārāb on horse back under a tree, has lassoed a wild ass. On the other side, two riders are galloping their horses apparently with a view to ask Dārāb to desist from the deed.

7. Fol. 33 Ob. Adventures of Dārāb in a forest.

The scene is laid in an undulating ground with a river with two boats

which three soldiers are rushing to board. A soldier is fighting with a black bear standing erect and holding a pole. In the extreme right corner Dārāb and his beloved have climbed up a tree.

8. Fol. 37 Ob. Dārāb engaged in a battle with the cannibals.

The scene is laid in a sea with its bank edged by a mound on either side. On one side, Dārāb, accompanied by his beloved, is shooting down the cannibals; one of the two boats carrying them is sunk and its occupants, many of them dead, float in the sea. It is a forceful scene in which the heat of the action is well rendered. (Fig. 36.)

9. Fol. 38 Ob. Meeting of Māhlūzan and Dārāb.

The scene is laid within a palace enclosure. In the centre Māhlūzan enthroned is conversing with Dārāb, while another fellow is seated on the floor. Two female musicians are playing on a lyre and pipe respectively. On the extreme left, two attendants are conversing and on the right there stand two attendants, one of whom holds a barbed sword.

10. Fol. 42 Ob. Dārāb fighting his adversary.

The fight is taking place within an arcaded palace compound. On one side a party of soldiers, led by Dārāb fighting with drawn up sword, is throwing stones on the enemy. On the right two heavily armoured cavaliers are rushing towards him.

11. Fol. 44 Rev. Khaīcūs (?) holding court.

On one side, the king is seated on a golden throne with three men including Dārāb bowing down to him. They are followed by a group of three attendants and a horse with the groom.

12. Fol. 48 Rev. Dārāb and Tamrūsiya witnessing the congregation of animals.

The royal couple seated on palace balcony seeing the animal procession which includes monkeys, a tiger, a cheetah, a leopard, a fox, a hare and a bear riding a bull. The animals are painted with real feeling and humour.

13. Fol. 53 Rev. Strange men of an island.

The scene is laid on the seashore. A man and woman clad in leaf-skirt, are emerging from the sea. On the right, a bearded philosopher and a woman are seated under a tree.

14. Fol. 57 Rev. Ṭamrūsiya, Dārāb's wife, riding a horned snake.

The scene is laid on seashore. Two human-headed horned snakes are shown. Ṭamrūsiya is riding one of them holding it by the horns.

15. Fol. 60 Ob. Ṭamrūsiya in a camp.

The scene is laid within a screened tent, with male attendants at the entrance. Inside the camp two women, waited upon by attendants, are seated on a carpet enjoying drinks.

16. Fol. 63 Ob. A king's bedroom.

The scene is laid inside the palace enclosure with an attendant standing at the gate. At the other end, is represented a cushioned bed with the bearded king lying on it; on the floor are seated three women conversing among themselves.

17. Fol. 69 Rev. Dārāb and Ṭamrūsiya.

The scene is laid on the sea-shore with a boat manned by a sailor. At one end, appear some tents and at the other end on the rock shaded by a tree Dārāb is sleeping, his head resting on the lap of Ṭamrūsiya.

It is an interesting composition, in which in a balanced natural setting, attention is drawn to the slumbering hero and his dainty beloved.

18. Fol. 82 Rev. Dārāb witnessing the impalement of an enemy by his order.

On one end, Dārāb is seen on horse-back with the groom standing before him. Six armed men are talking among themselves on the fate of the impaled man on the other end.

19. Fol. 85 Ob. Death of Ṭamrūsiya and the lamentation of Dārāb.

The scene is laid on the sea with a hillock on either end of the shore. There are two boats, one of them being manned by two sailors. In the second boat, inside the cabin, lies the dead body of Ṭamrūsiya, who seems to have died apparently in child birth. Outside the cabin is seated Dārāb with the newly born child in his lap, wiping away his tears; a sailor is trying to console him. (Fig. 37.)

20. Fol. 93 Ob. Dārāb ready to kill Muṣṭaliq.

On one end outside a house, Dārāb, armed with a pole, is ready to attack,



while Muṣṭaliq's emissary is apparently requesting him to desist from the act. On the other side is seen Muṣṭaliq with a number of attendants and his horse.

21. Fol. 96 Rev. War between Dārāb and the ruler of Koh Āsār.

The scene is laid in a rocky landscape. Dārāb, followed by a woman, has struck hard with a staff his enemy who has fallen dead. Seeing his condition his followers, numbering five, have taken to their heels.

22. Fol. 110 Rev. Dārāb capturing Shu'ib.

Dārāb, in armour on horseback, holds one end of the rope with which his enemy is tied up. A little further outside the camp Dārāb's followers are welcoming him.

23. Fol. 119 Ob. The episode of the baby Sikandar and his nurse.

The scene is laid in an undulating ground flanked by a hillock on either side. On one side, inside a tent, a goat is shown weaning the child Sikandar, while a lion is waiting patiently at some distance. The old nurse, apparently frightened by the sight, is rushing towards the tent. (Fig. 38.)

24. Fol. 132 Rev. Sikandar and Aristotle facing the people.

Sikandar is shown standing with Aristotle holding a book, outside a domed pavilion. Five men are saluting and welcoming them; a hillock on either side.

25. Fol. 140 Rev. Sikandar mourning the death of Dārāb II on the battle-field.

On either side of the battle-field, horse-riders, some of whom hold royal standards, horn-blowers and drummers on the camels, appear. In the centre Sikandar is holding the head of the dying Dārāb in his lap.

26. Fol. 151 Ob. Sikandar saving the life of a woman from the irate husband.

The scene is laid in a rocky landscape with a hillock on either side, from one of which a stream is flowing. On one side, there are two men, one armed with a naked sword, and the other is in the act of drawing his sword from the scabbard. Sikandar is asking them to desist from attacking the woman crouching on the ground.

27. Fol. 162 Rev. The death of Philandas trampled by a horse.

An encampment is shown in rocky landscape. A man is shown sleeping

within a tent. In the open space, some soldiers are sleeping and dozing with their matchlocks stacked nearby. The horse, which killed Philandas, is entering a cavern.

28. Fol. 171 Rev. Bahrām and Sikandar.

Bahrām is shown holding his court in an open space flanked with hillocks covered with date palm and other trees; birds are hovering over them. The enthroned Bahrām is presenting his mace to Sikandar seated on the ground. Lying by his side, are a couple of maces, a chain-shirt and gauntlets, wine bottles and fruit trays. There appear five courtiers. The scene is lighted by a couple of candles and a torch. Outside the gathering, stand three attendants.

29. Fol. 196 Rev. Sikandar spying two naked women bathing in a pool.

The scene is laid in a rocky landscape. In between the hills, is situated a pool in which two women are bathing with their clothes lying outside. One of the girls is coming out of the pool as her hands are on her clothes, while the other is splashing water on herself. On the other end, Sikandar is spying the scene from his horse, while his horse-men are seen in the background. (Fig. 39.)

It is a charming painting in which the figures of the bathing women are the focus of attention.

30. Fol. 201 Ob. Messengers meeting Sikandar.

The scene is laid on a terraced pavilion with steps. Sikandar is seen seated on the terrace with a *chauri*-bearer standing behind him. The two messengers are bowing down to him. At the farther end stand three courtiers.

31. Fol. 214 Rev. The blind Pūrāndukht conversing with Sikandar.

The scene is laid in a rocky landscape with hillocks on either side and a pool of turbulent water. Getting down from his horse, Sikandar is offering his respects to the blind Pūrāndukht. (Fig. 40.)

32. Fol. 216 Rev. Sikandar driving a captive to the camp.

Sikandar is riding an elephant. Preceding him is the captive, with his both hands tied, led by an armed soldier to the elaborate camp. Rocky landscape.

33. Fol. 221 Rev. The blind Pūrāndukht rescuing Sikandar tied to a tree by his enemy.

The scene is laid in a rocky landscape with trees and strewn boulders. Sikandar is shown on a leafy tree from where he is being rescued by Pūrāndukht, his elephant standing near by. There are two other elephants one of which is carrying three soldiers proceeding to the tree. They are provided with disc-shaped shock absorbers. (Fig. 41.)

34. Fol. 224 Rev. Sikandar fighting Humārahpal.

The scene is laid in a hilly landscape with rocks on either side and a river flowing in the foreground. The field is strewn with boulders in which a couple of hare and two foxes may be seen. Sikandar has plunged his horse into the river, hotly pursuing and attacking his enemy riding a bull. (Fig. 42.)

35. Fol. 230 Ob. Sikandar with his queen.

The scene is laid within a screened tent situated in a rocky landscape. On one side, Sikandar and his wife are seated on a hexagonal golden *chauki* attended by a female fan-bearer. A group of five female attendants carrying a cup on a tray, a towel and a bottle, an ewer in a bowl and covered bowls, is proceeding to Sikandar's camp.

36. Fol. 236 Rev. A woman conversing with a bearded philosopher.

The scene is laid in a rocky landscape with trees and boulders; two foxes may be seen. The bearded philosopher, seated on the ground, is conversing with the women, behind whom concealed in a tree, a man is seen hearing their talk.

37. Fol. 239 Rev. Sikandar in the magic city.

The scene is laid in a rocky landscape with a moated city. Inside, Sikandar is seen with his guide seeing a man in a loin-cloth standing on the bastion roof looking at the blood spurting from the severed head of a woman. The man is apparently enjoying this gruesome sight.

38. Fol. 240 Rev. Sikandar looking at the statues of Adam and Eve.

The scene is laid in a rocky landscape with rocks on either end. At one end, the statues of Adam and Eve are shown; two women are offering their respect to them, followed by Sikandar and two philosophers.

39. Fol. 243 Ob. Battle between Sikandar and the cannibals.

The scene is laid in a seascape with the city of the cannibals situated on one end, and a hillock on the other. In one of the two boats, Sikandar is seated with two philosophers; a woman standing at the prow is attacking three cannibals who are pulling the boat to the shore with a pole. On the jetty outside the city



gate four cannibals have torn to pieces a man from Sikandar's party and are eating his flesh.

40. Fol. 249 Ob. Sikandar and the miraculous tree.

On one side is situated the miraculous tree with a huge bird, and on the other end, appears a hill. Sikandar, his wife and three philosophers are looking at the tree in amazement.

41. Fol. 250 Ob. Sikandar on the high sea.

The scene is laid on the high sea with the rising sun on one side, and a hill on the other. In one boat, a black sailor, clad in a loin-cloth, is holding aloft what seems to be a compass; in the second, appear Sikandar and two sailors.

42. Fol. 255 Ob. Sikandar and his companion seeing a curious statue.

On one end is seen a statue on throne faced by Sikandar, his wife and four philosophers.

43. Fol. 258 Rev. Sikandar holding court after the victory over the islands, Lakhobas and Hankaūs.

On one end, is represented the city with four women coming out of the city gate and one pointing out to the sky is standing on the parapet; on the other end, Sikandar is conversing with his wife, and four philosophers seated on chairs are facing them. Rocky landscape.

44. Fol. 266 Rev. Sikandar in the city of demons.

On one end, the demon king, seated on a golden throne served by two attendants, is conversing with a woman. Sikandar and two philosophers are witnessing the scene in amazement; three demons on the other end; rocky landscape.

45. Fol. 271 Ob. Sikandar and his party seeing a golden *minār* with bones strewn around.

Sikandar and his party consisting of his queen and followers are proceeding towards the golden *minār*.

46. Fol. 273 Rev. Aflātūn (Plato) instructing Sikandar.

On one end, Plato is instructing Sikandar and his queen; two other philosophers seated on chairs are also seen. A party of ten women perhaps serve as attendants, (Fig. 43)

47. Fol. 281 Rev. Sikandar meeting the demon king—a scene in the fort Sarmâhîl.

At one end, the bearded demon king with elephant-ears is seated on a golden throne with four attendants, one of whom is introducing Sikandar to him.

48. Fol. 284 Ob. Sikandar on the Mt. Malkût hearing the bird *simurgh* speaking.

At one end is represented the golden peak of the Mt. Malkût on which the *simurgh* is seen. Sikandar, his wife and three philosophers have climbed the mountain and are paying respect to the bird. On the other end, stand five horses led by their grooms.

49. Fol. 286 Rev. Sikandar praying to the holy mountain for victory over the demons.

On one end, Sikandar with his attendant, is offering prayers to the mountain; on the other end appear four demons.

50. Fol. 326 Rev. The funeral procession of Sikandar.

The scene is laid on a hilly landscape. Four persons are bearing the golden coffin of Sikandar whose one hand is sticking out, signifying that he was returning to the other world empty handed. A number of philosophers and courtiers headed by Sikandar's queen steeped in utmost misery are accompanying the procession.

## PAINTING FROM THE *ṭhikānā* OF DEOGARH

S. K. Andhare

The smaller feudatory states of Rajasthan known as *ṭhikānās* were often flourishing centres of painting since the seventeenth century along with other established centres, but so far they have received little attention from scholars mainly due to their mixed and varied styles and the lack of evidence to substantiate their origin and development. It was for this reason that this class of painting from the private and museum collections was branded as *ṭhikānā* painting from Rajasthan of the late eighteenth century on stylistic grounds. This style though showing considerable deterioration in comparison with the earlier Rajasthani painting, deserves a detailed study in order to complete the gaps in the history of Rajasthani painting.

In recent years, however, some dated material<sup>1</sup> has been found which throws light on this uncommon subject, though it has not yet been possible to go back earlier than the first quarter of the seventeenth century to trace the origin and development of *ṭhikānā* painting as we do not know any dated document other than the dated Pāli *Rāgamālā*<sup>2</sup> of 1624 painted by Vīrjī and the "Portrait of Padam Singh" painted by Kīrpārām in 1717 A.D., now in the collection of Kumar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh. These paintings although crude and folkish in execution provide a landmark in *ṭhikānā* painting in Rajasthan. There are other famous examples mostly from the *ṭhikānā* of Ghānerāo and certain other unidentified *ṭhikānās*. The painting entitled "Padam Singh in Court"<sup>3</sup> painted at Ghānerāo in 1725 A.D. by the artist Chhaju in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Rāginī Guṇārū (?)<sup>4</sup> from a *Rāgamālā* series (c. 1660) in the collection of Kumar Sangram Singh, Rāginī Khambhāvatī<sup>5</sup> in the Khajanchi Collection give an idea of the painting of that period. Apart from this group from the *ṭhikānā* of Deogarh in Mewar, there is an interesting fragmentary set of *Rāgamālā* in the Oriental

<sup>1</sup> The author acknowledges the courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, late Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Bombay, Mr. Karl J. Khundalavala, Bombay, Mr. N. Boman Behram, Bombay and Kumar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh, for the permission to reproduce their paintings.

<sup>2</sup> Kumar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh, "An early *Rāgamālā* MS. from Pāli (Marwar School) Dated 1623 A.D.," *Lalit Kālā*, No. 7, April 1960, pp. 76-81.

<sup>3</sup> W. G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, Connecticut, n.d., pl. 57; K. J. Khundalavala, "Problems of Rajasthani Painting: 2. The Origin and Development of Rajasthani Painting", *Mārg*, Vol. XI, No. 2, March, 1958, p. 9, Fig. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Moti Chandra, *Mewar Painting*, New Delhi, 1957, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Karl Khundalavala, Moti Chandra and Pramod Chandra, *Miniature Paintings from the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection*, New Delhi, 1960, Fig. 105.



Section of the British Museum, London. This set was painted at the *thikānā* of Shāhpurā<sup>6</sup> in Marwar in 1772 A.D. by the artist Sulaljit as a present to Mahā Rāwal Śrī Vakhat Singhji.

The Prince of Wales Museum between the years 1952-1953 and 1957 acquired a group of paintings which include some fine portrait studies of Rāvat Gokuldās II and Nāhar Singh of Deogarh. These paintings bear inscriptions on their reverse giving the names, the dates, the provenances as well as the names of the artist who painted them. They were categorized as *thikānā* paintings of the early nineteenth century on the basis of style. However, a closer study of this group along with some others in private collections, on literary and stylistic grounds, establish the existence of a distinctive style of painting prevailing at the *thikānā* of Deogarh in Mewar, influenced by the contemporary schools of painting in the nearby states in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Deogarh, an important *thikānā* of the former Mewar State and the chief town of the same name is situated close to Merwara about 68 miles north-west of Udaipur city, which once was ruled by the Chunḍāvat family of the Sisodiā Rajputs.<sup>7</sup>

According to the table of the first rate nobles of Mewar<sup>8</sup>, Mahārāṇā Jaisingh II of Mewar had presented the *thikānā* of Deogarh to Dvārikādās in 1680 A.D. which he ruled for eighteen years. Dvārikādās stands fifth in the list of genealogy<sup>9</sup> whereas Rāvat Gokuldās II and Nāhar Singh occupy the ninth and tenth places respectively.

It is significant to note that in this class of painting there is almost a total absence of early Rajasthani idiom, but apparently the artists inspired by the art traditions of Mewar and Marwar have handled afresh their colours and compositions. Their sense of perspective and massing of background colours to bring out the figures into prominence often reminds us of the Mewar school. The painters Chokhā and Bagtā were apparently fond of a yellowish green colour which later on becomes a characteristic feature of this group. In all these paintings the centre of attraction is of course Rāvat Gokuldās whose personality towers above all others. The Deogarh artists had also assimilated certain elements in landscape from Kotah painting. For example, the execution of trees (Fig. 45) is somewhat similar to that in the picture in which Rājā Ummed Singh of Kotah is shooting a tigress from a tree c. 1790.<sup>10</sup>

From all the available paintings and also from the literary sources it is

<sup>6</sup> The present writer has written a paper on "The Dated *Rāgamūla* from the *thikānā* of Shāhpurā" for the *British Museum Quarterly*, London.

<sup>7</sup> C. H. Payne, *Tod's Annals of Rajasthan (Mewar)*, Vol. I, London, 1923, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Mahākavirājā Syāmaladāsa, *Vir Vinod*, (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 138.

<sup>9</sup> G. H. Ojha, *History of Rajputana*, Vols. II-IV (2), (Hindi), Ajmer, 1927, p. 1199.

<sup>10</sup> W. G. Archer, *Indian Painting from Bundi and Kotah*, London, 1959, pl. 40.

apparent that Rāvat Gokuldās was a bulky man in comparison to the other nobles in his state. Tod observes,<sup>11</sup> "Gokuldās, the last chief, was one of the finest man I ever beheld in feature and person. He was about six feet six, perfectly erect, and a Hercules in bulk. His father at twenty was much larger, and must have been nearly seven feet high." He was one of the sixteen Umrāos of Mewar. As he was without any issue he adopted young Nāhar Singh. Some of the senior *paṭṭāvats* of Deogarh were men of highest character and often lamented the sober qualities of their chief. He seems to have been unpopular in a section of the people but one could infer from the number of paintings produced during Gokuldās's reign that he must have been a patron of art. A parallel could be drawn between that egoist Rājā Balwant Singh of Jammu<sup>12</sup> who took delight in getting himself portrayed in every walk of life by his court artists. It is evident from the paintings that Gokuldās must have been fond of hunting, riding and enjoying festivals, dancing and music. An interesting feature of the present group of pictures is that the names of some of his noblemen and servants often appear on the reverse.

There are as many as twelve paintings in this group which bear inscriptions written by the same scribe (perhaps Kākā Jawān Singh). Most of them give the name of Rāvat Gokuldās, the date etc.

The characteristics of Deogarh style may be summarised below :

The paintings deal with the life of Rāvat Gokuldās II, one of the ruling chiefs of Deogarh. The dates quoted on the reverse of all the paintings are relevant to the period of Rāvat Gokuldās II and Nāhar Singh. Deogarh had a painting gallery maintained by Rāvat Gokuldās. Bagtā, Chokhā and Baijnāth were the chief artists of his atelier.

Gokuldās had friendly relations with Zālim Singh of Kotah, the Regent of Ummed Singh, and that it may be due to this friendship that Gokuldās was inspired to maintain artists. Kotah in those days was an important centre of painting.

The style of the three artists is almost the same though each one has his peculiarity. Chokhā and Bagtā had a craze for yellow and green and their works are somewhat crude and inferior in execution. Baijnāth's style is more refined as seen in the decoration and composition. There appears a synthesis of Marwar influences in his work (Fig. 51).

The rendering of trees and flower-beds is similar as in the late Mewar or Marwar paintings. Facial types with large fish-shaped eyes, stiff projecting hairdress, costumes, ornaments, etc. are all in the same style. Perspective is

<sup>11</sup> James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, London, 1920, p. 221, f. n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> K. J. Khandalavala, 'Balwant Singh of Jammu—a Patron of Pahārī Painting', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 2, 1951-52, p. 71.

attempted in certain cases with high horizon, with tiny figures and landscape in the background which is at times reduced to stylized rocky hilly tracts with dainty filigree of trees with broad trunks. Incidents are depicted against yellow or monochrome background. The water is represented by means of thin white lines on a dark surface going in eddies; aquatic birds and lotuses are associated with it.

The male costume consists of a skin-tight short *jāma* tied under the left arm-pit with three quarter sleeves and an opening on the right chest, a *churidār* or half trouser and a sort of Holkar type turban brought into fashion in Rajasthan due to the contacts with the Marathas. The women wear *ghagrā*, *choli* and *chādar*.

The palette is generally gaudy with frequent use of muddy green. The use of red monochrome is not seen anywhere except in Fig. 49. The sky is painted in orange or gold.

### DESCRIPTIONS OF PLATES

Frontispiece : Picnic after hunting.

Rajaasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). Painted by Bagtā in Samvat 1865/1808 A.D. 45 × 24.5 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. (No. 52.25).

The picture is a fair representation of the Deogarh style. The scene is described in an inscription on the reverse which also mentions the names of some persons who are represented in the painting. The inscription reads :

महारावतजीबो ५ श्री गोकुलदासजीरो मुरतरो पानी खरला—  
रीमंगरा सकार खल पाछापदार बराख्यांरानाबरो पानी  
१८६५ रा: प्रसादबद १४ रे दन तीजा पीरा काचरी श्रीबरो  
म्हे बराख्यां पानी नीजर हुयो: कलमी चतारो बगतो

Folio of the portrait of Mahā Rāvat Gokuldās seated after returning from hunting in the hills of Rimagarā (?) near Kharlā village. This page was presented in the evening of the 14th day of Āshāḍha in Samvat 1865/1808 A.D. when he was sitting in the Śishamahāl; painted by the artist Bagtā. Below the main text appears another line :

नामोल्लखत काकी जवानसिंह लख्यो श्री हजर का हुकम सुलख्यो ।

Names written by Kākā Jawān Singh by the order of the ruler.

Rāvat Gokuldās is seated under a tree holding a spray of white flowers.



In front of him is seated Kākā Jawān Singh, and by his side appears Bhāi Vijay Singh. To the right flows a rivulet from which a fisherman is catching and killing fish with a sharp knife. On the left two attendants are busy in skinning a rabbit while in the foreground an attendant is preparing *kabābs* for the feast. The left side of the picture is occupied by partially seen figures of white horse, a hunting dog etc.

Note the use of various tones of green and the absence of lacquered red.

Fig. 44. Portrait of a dog.

Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). Painted by Bagtā in Samvat 1863/1806 A.D. 18×28 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. (No. 53.72).

This is a sensitive study of a hunting dog on a dark orange ground with the high horizon in gold and yellow. The sun is shown shedding golden rays from the right corner; dark amber foreground. The first important inscription on the reverse of Fig. 44 in Devanāgarī reads as follows :

॥ ताम्रैरलदकीवरीः कौरासुराजगतमजिबनीनैकलैकैगरीरैकचंद्रकैलैरंआयौ  
 १८६३ः भाद्रपद १५ बुधवारै चतुर्थी तिथि बराजपोनोनरहौ  
 कलमीचतारौबषतौपातौदैवगढमैबलै  
 तषतेचुमवतजननिजिबकाहातआवरछै

"Portrait of Tājīsairlad (hunting dog) sent by Jālam Singh (Zālim Singh) of Kotah and brought by Tek Chand the custodian; in the month of Bhādrapada, Friday the 14th, Samvat 1863/1806 A.D. This page was presented to him in the *chitrāḍā* (painted gallery). Painted by Bagtā at Deogarh. Written by Chundāvat Jawān Singh in his own handwriting."

It is said that Rāwat Gokuldās was fond of hunting dogs and he had sent his custodian Tek Chand all the way to Kotah to bring this dog. Not only this, but the same type of dog is seen in other paintings as well.<sup>13</sup>

Fig. 45. Rāwat Gokuldās II with his women on a Holi day.

Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). Painted by Bagtā in Samvat 1865/1808 A.D. 18.2×26.8 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. (No. 53.67).

The Rāwat is seated on a decorated high-backed chair smoking *huqqā*. He

<sup>13</sup> Frontispiece. In the extreme left bottom corner; Figs. 48, 54 and 55.

wears a saffron coloured long *jāma* and plumed turban decorated with jewels. Three women stand in front with presents; the one in the centre is showing him the traditional Holi mirror while the first and the third offer him drinks and *pāns* respectively. White sky with the sun in the centre; red lacquered border.

The inscription on the reverse reads:

महाराज श्रीगोकुलदासजीरो मुरतरो पानो होलीरे दन पोसाख कोदीजीभावको पानो  
मजलसम्हें बराख्य को १८६५ रा: बेशाखसुद १३ मोदीउपरे गोखरे बराज  
पानोनीजरव्हो प्रभात: कलमी चतारो बगती

Folio of the portrait of Mahā Rāvat Gokuldās dressed as befitting a Holi day seated in the *majlis*. This folio was presented in the morning on the thirteenth day of the month of Vaisākha when he was sitting in the balcony; painted by the artist Bagtā.

It is customary at places in northern India and Rajasthan that on Holi day poor barbers, servants and in certain cases even women proceed to their chief's residence to show him a mirror and after looking into it the chief presents them some money.

Fig. 46. Rāvat Gokuldās enjoying Holi with his courtiers.

Rajasthan, Deogarh (Mewar). Painted by Chokhā in Samvat 1868/1811 A.D. 34 × 23 cm. Collection: Mr. N. Boman Behram, Bombay.

The scene is represented within a decorated tent. Rāvat Gokuldās is seated on a *chauki* amongst his feudatories, courtiers and servants taking part in the ceremony. He is holding a syringe to sprinkle coloured water on the invitees. Various decorative containers, scent bottles and coloured powders (*gulāl*) etc. are lying by his side. The ground is smeared with powder (*gulāl*) thrown on each other which is customary on the day. Among the seated are included his nurse-brother, police officers, custodians and artists. Sitting third from left is Kothārī Tek Chand, who was sent to Kotah to bring the dog from Zālim Singh.

The artists Chokhā and Bagtā are seated fourth and fifth from the right corner. Bagtā has a grey beard and holds a scroll while Chokhā wears a small black beard and large side whiskers. A group of musicians seated opposite to him is performing music. Muddy red, green, yellow, white and purple colours have been used. Inscription on the reverse:

मुरत रावत गोकुलदासजीकी फागम जलसो चतारो बोलाबाबत  
मती बेशाख सुद ११ जमा हुवो पानो समत १८६८—

"Portrait of Rāvat Gokuldās painted in the festival month of Phālgun by Chokhā; deposited (in the library) on Vaiśākha Sudī II Samvat 1868/1811 A.D."

All the members in this group have their names written at the back. The group also includes the names of the artists Bagtā and Chokhā who were invited to attend the function. Koṭhārī Tek Chand who had gone to fetch the dog from Kotah also appears in the above group. From this painting we get an idea of Gokuldās's Durbar and the different people with their designations who attended it. The group includes servants, *dhāibhai* (nurse-brother), *chaḍidārs* (staff-bearers), *kotwāls* (police officers), *koṭhāris* (custodians) and artists.

Fig. 47. Detail of Fig. 46, showing artist Chokhā and Bagatā.

Fig. 48. Rāvat Gokuldās hunting a wild boar.

Rajasthanī, Deogarh (Mewar). Painted by Chokhā in Samvat 1868/1811 A.D. 27 × 38 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. (No. 53.68).

The scene is laid in a woodland with trees, hills and a lake with aquatic birds and lotuses. In the centre Rāvat Gokuldās galloping on his horse has speared a wild boar while the hunting dogs are chasing the other boars. In the background appear noblemen partially seen through the trees shooting birds with their muskets. The inscription on the reverse reads :

सुरत रावत श्रीगोकुलदासजीकी सकार खेलत घोडो कोटा बाबत नावचक्रापन्न?  
समत १८६८ म्हासुद ५ रवे चतारा चोखा बाबत

Portrait of Rāvat Gokuldās hunting, riding a horse brought from Kotah (?) bought for Rs. 54 (?). Samvat 1868/1811 A.D. sud 5, painted by Chokhā.

Fig. 49. Equestrian portrait of Rāvat Gokuldās II.

Rajasthanī, Deogarh (Mewar). Painted by Bagtā in Samvat 1868/1811 A.D. 79.5 × 13.4 cm. without border. Collection: The late Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Bombay.

The scene is painted against a deep yellow background with the chief holding a spear riding a huge black horse; behind him run attendants. In the foreground Bhāi Durjan Singh is riding a spotted horse. To the right appears a pool with aquatic birds and lotuses. In the background is shown a receding landscape with green bushes and some soldiers.

Inscription on the reverse :



महारावतजीश्री गोकुलदासजीरो सबी घोड़ा मीराबगसलपर  
असवार घोड़ाकौरंगमहुवों खरीद रुपा १०० नौसे  
हेठे सबोभाइदुरजनसिधजीरी घोड़ासलपर चढा घोड़ो आछोभाइ रंगनील  
खरीद रुपा ८०० आठसे बीघा ।

Portrait of Rāvat Gokuldās riding a horse by name Mirā Bagsal (?) purchased for Rs. 900/-. The colour of the horse dark brown. Here is a portrait of Bhāi Durjan Singhji mounted on a horse named Āchobhāi (?); the colour of the horse is blue; purchased for Rs. 800/-.

Fig. 50. Rāvat Gokuldās worshipping Śrīnāthji.

Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). Painted by Bagtā in Samvat 1868/1811 A.D. 24.1 × 31.7 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. (No. 57.21).

Rāvat Gokuldās is seated wearing *dhōti* and *chādar* facing to the right. He holds a picture of Śrīnāthji in the left hand and a rosary in the right. In front of him is seated Bhatnārāṇ (?) reading from the religious book. In the foreground are some ritual implements. Behind the chief appear three persons. Yellow background with orange and red sky; white foreground.

Inscription on the reverse reads :

तसबोर रावतगोकुलदासजी पुजा करताबरजा चतारा बगता बावत  
मती बंसाख बढ ३ पानी जमाकोनी—संवत १८६८

Portrait of Rāvat Gokuldās seated at worship; painted by Bagtā; deposited on the 3rd day of the month of Baisakh in Samvat 1868/1811 A.D.

Fig. 51. Portrait of Rāvat Nāhar Singh with women.

Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). Painted by Baijnāth in Samvat 1888/1831 A.D. 37.6 × 24.2 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. (No. 53.84).

On a platform overlaid with a floral carpet, Nāhar Singh is seated on a *chouki* furnished with a carpet, leaning against a bolster. He wears a long and pleated *jāma*, *kamaband* with a broad sash and golden turban. In front of him is seated a delicate woman clad in a brocaded *ghagrā*, *choli* and *chādar* arranged schematically. Nāhar Singh is seen offering her a drink. By his side are kept eatables, scents and drinks etc. To the right stands a female dancer, accompanied by a musician playing on *tānpurā*. There are female attendants on either side standing with a *pāndān* and waving fans.

Inscription on the reverse :

महारावत श्री नाहारसोयजीरी तसवीर जानांना सहैत कलमी चतारो बेजनाथ  
चोखावत बाबत पंनो देवगडम्है बण्यो फूल फागरा भावरो कपरदार रमा  
१८८८ भादवा सुद १३ सोमेरदन नंमोल्लत पेटीम्है रमा कोदा ।

"Portrait of Mahā Rāvat Nāhar Singh with his courtesan painted by Baijnāth, son of Chokhā, at Deogarh on Holi day in samvat 1888 on Monday the 13th of Bhādrapad and deposited in the store for costumes and jewellery in a box."

Nāhar Singh was adopted by Rāvat Gokuldās as he had no issue. The name of the artist Baijnāth whom we come across for the first time happened to be the son of Chokhā according to this inscription. It sounds logical that he should have been old enough to practise art at the court of Nāhar Singh who came to the scene a quarter century later than his father. Stylistically, Baijnāth excelled his father and Bagtā. He had a taste for colours and a fondness for detailed drawing. Although he tends to follow the late Marwar style he had an originality which we do not find in his seniors.

Fig. 52. Nāhar Singh offering a drink to his beloved.

Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). Painted by Baijnāth. c. 1830 A.D. 38.5 × 21.5. cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. (No. 53.72).

Nāhar Singh dressed in a striped white and golden *jāma* is seated in a garden pavilion decorated with garlands offering drinks to his beloved Champāvatī. In the background are shown the plantain and other trees. Two female attendants on either side stand with a fan, a tray and an ewer. Flower beds in the foreground.

Inscription on the reverse:

तसवीर महारावतजी श्री नाहारसोयजीकी जानांना सहैत  
हाजर चंपावतजी छे पंनो नजर बेजनाथकी चौखट छे परकाभावकों?

Portrait of Mahā Rāvat Nāhar Singh with Champāvatī; work of Baijnāth showing the scene within a pavilion (?).

Fig. 53. Krishna dragging his beloved.

Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). Painted by Chokhā. First quarter of 19th century. 10.5 × 8.5 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. (No. 52.36).

The scene is laid on an open platform covered with a carpet. On the left Krishna wearing a *maramukūṭa*, white *jāma* and red flowered trousers is

lying on a bed furnished with pillows. On the right the heroine wearing green *chādar*, red *ghagrā* and yellow *choli* is moving towards a group of female attendants. Orange, yellow and white sky with the crescent moon; an empty domed pavilion and Bundi type plantain trees in the background; simple white parapet wall in the foreground.

The general impression of this painting is very much like the Bundi style of the end of eighteenth century. However, from the inscription on the reverse we find that it is the work of a Deogarh artist. Perhaps it may be that Chokhā was employed at the Bundi court where he painted in the prevalent style.

Inscription on the reverse :

रावो श्रीजीको छे  
चतारा चोला का हात को बण्यो मतो कार्ती—

Fig. 54. Rāvat Gokuldās riding a black Turkish horse.

Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). c. 1810-25 A.D. 28 × 17.5 cm. Collection : Karl J. Khandalavala, Bombay.

The scene is laid on an undulating ground. Rāvat Gokuldās wearing green *jāma*, mounted on a black horse is galloping fast to the right. In front of him are his favourite dogs Nāg and Nāgini (?) holding their preys in their mouths; bushy shrubs and white and orange sky.

The inscription on the reverse reads :

रावत श्री गोकुलदास जी री मुरत घोड़ी तुरकी असवार  
घोड़ी खरीद हुआ ५००  
री मुरत गजकरी (?) बागाली गसकड़ो नाम.

Portrait of Rāvat Gokuldās riding a Turkish horse purchased for Rs. 500/-. The second line cannot be read properly.

Fig. 55. Procession of Col. Tod (?).

Rajasthani, Deogarh. Dated 1817 A.D. 46 × 24 cm. Collection : Victoria and Albert Museum, London. No. I.M. 447—1914.

This procession is very much in the Deogarh style. The colour scheme and method are also alike. The scene is depicted on a red ochre ground with blue and white sky.



In the centre is a caparisoned elephant equipped with a *howdah*. Col. Tod wearing a black hat is seated under an umbrella held by an attendant. Three horsemen in white uniform precede the elephant with some of the Maratha soldiers and flag bearers. A group of Pathān's followers is following the elephants. In the foreground appear two hunting dogs and a palanquin. Note the Maratha type of dress worn by the soldiers.

The inscription on the reverse of Fig. 55 (i.e. Fig. 56) reads:

लॉड साइब की असवारो की पानो

Folio of the procession of the Lord saheb, i.e. Col. Tod.

The historical detail gathered from the personal narrative of Col. Tod<sup>14</sup> shows that he was in Udaipur city until January 29th, 1820, before he started on his tour to Bundi and Kotah. In order to restore the strained relations between Maharānā Bhīm Singh and the Rāvats of Bagun a *thikānā* which was restored to Rāvat Mahā Singh II in 1822. Col. Tod had to exercise his power and an agreement was signed in V. S. 1875/1818 A.D.

An interesting event occurred at this time when Col. Tod met with an accident. He had a fall from the elephant when he was entering the fort at Begun. The animal was too big to get through the arch of *kālmegh* and when he entered the bridge it collapsed but Col. Tod was luckily saved. The elephant suffered many wounds and became unconscious. A detailed account of this incident is given by Col. Tod himself.

The inscriptions at the back of this painting and the crude representation of a chained elephant give the historical background of this picture.

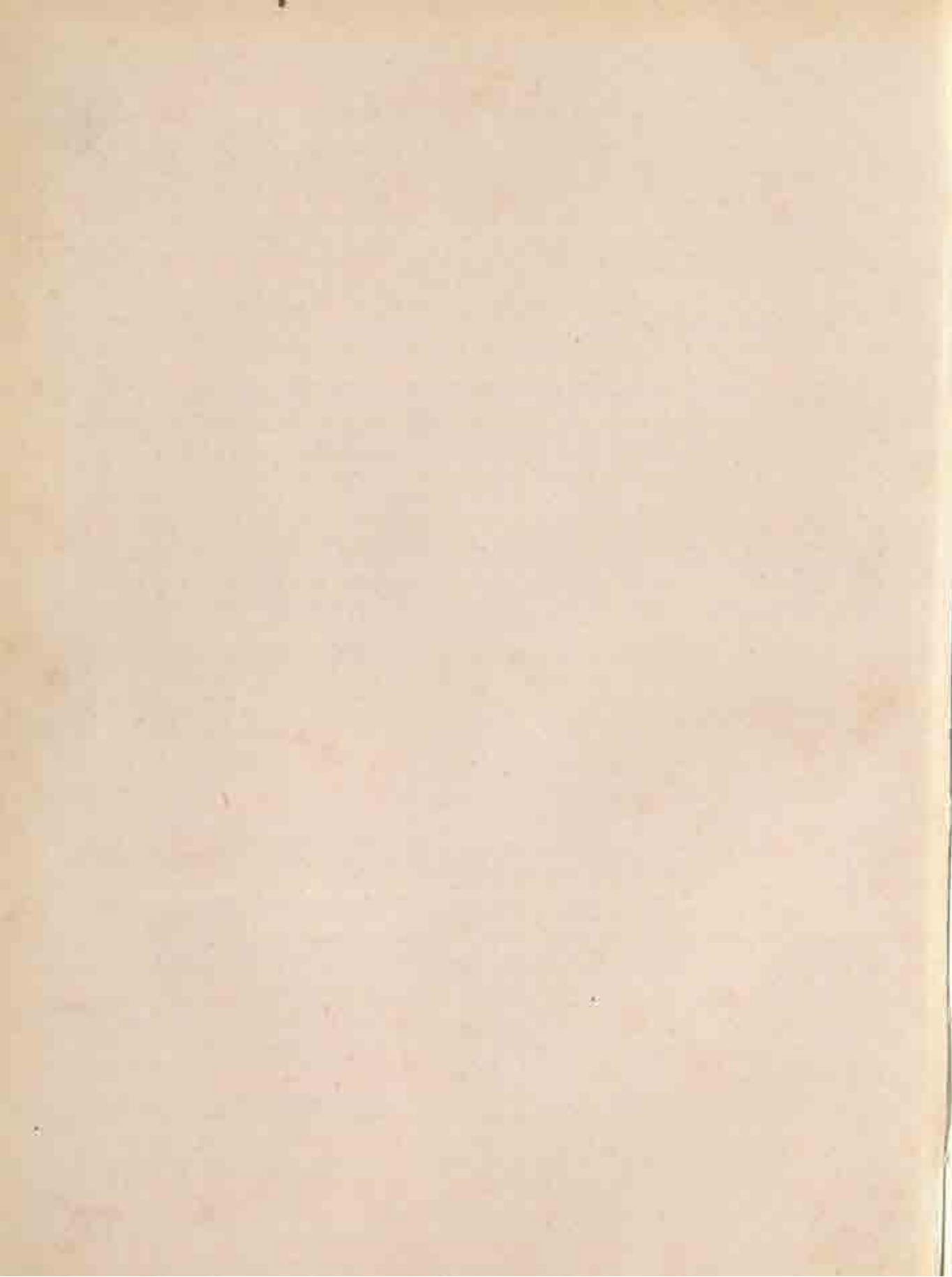
The inscription reads:

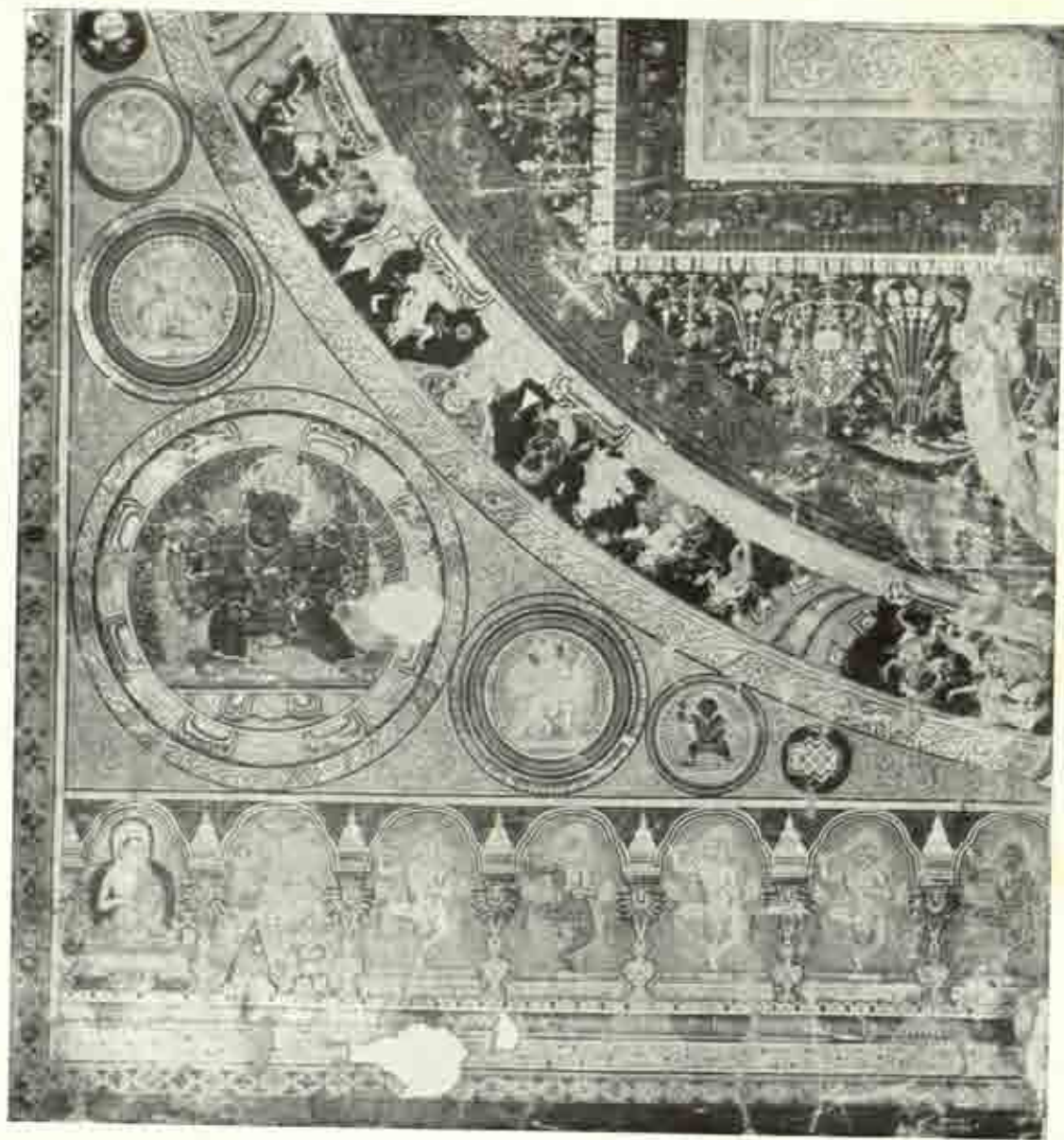
महाराजजी श्री गोकुलदासजी उदेपुर पदाराजद पानो नजरकही  
१८७४ रा: असाद सुद ८—

The page was presented when Rāvat Gokuldās had gone to Udaipur in Samvat 1874/1817 A.D. in the month of Āshadha sud. 8.

In view of the above date the identification may be wrong. It is possible that Rāvat Gokuldās might have escorted Tod up to Udaipur. It is also likely that some Deogarh artist might have painted this procession and after knowing about the accident he might have sketched the elephant and stuck it on the reverse of the painting (Fig. 55).

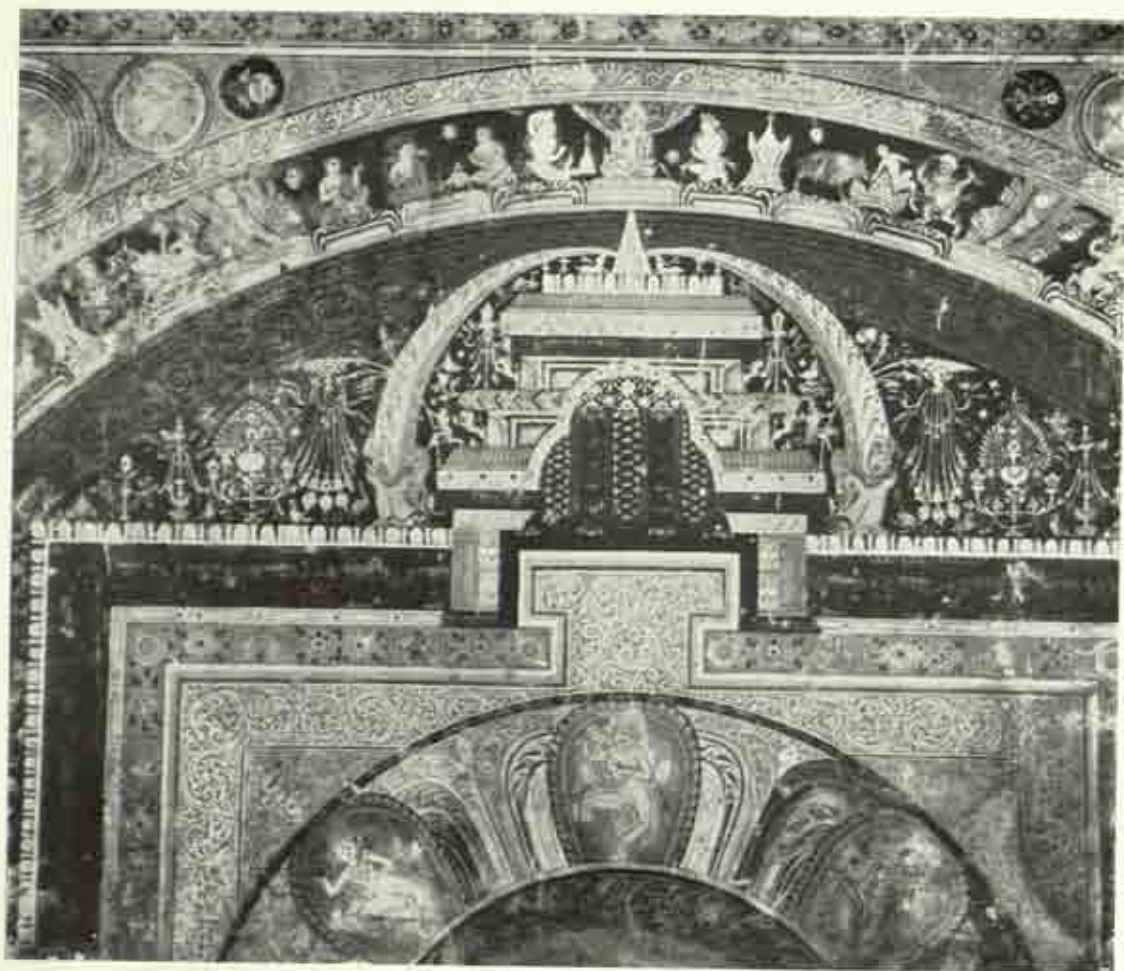
<sup>14</sup> James Tod, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 1621.





1. Fragment of a *pata* of Samvara, 14th cent. A.D. 34.3 x 92.1 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.





2. Fragment of a *pala* of Samvara. 14th cent. A.D. 34.3 x 92.1 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



3. Details from a painted wooden cover of a MS. of *Sivadharma*. 13th cent. A.D. Bir Library, Kathmandu.

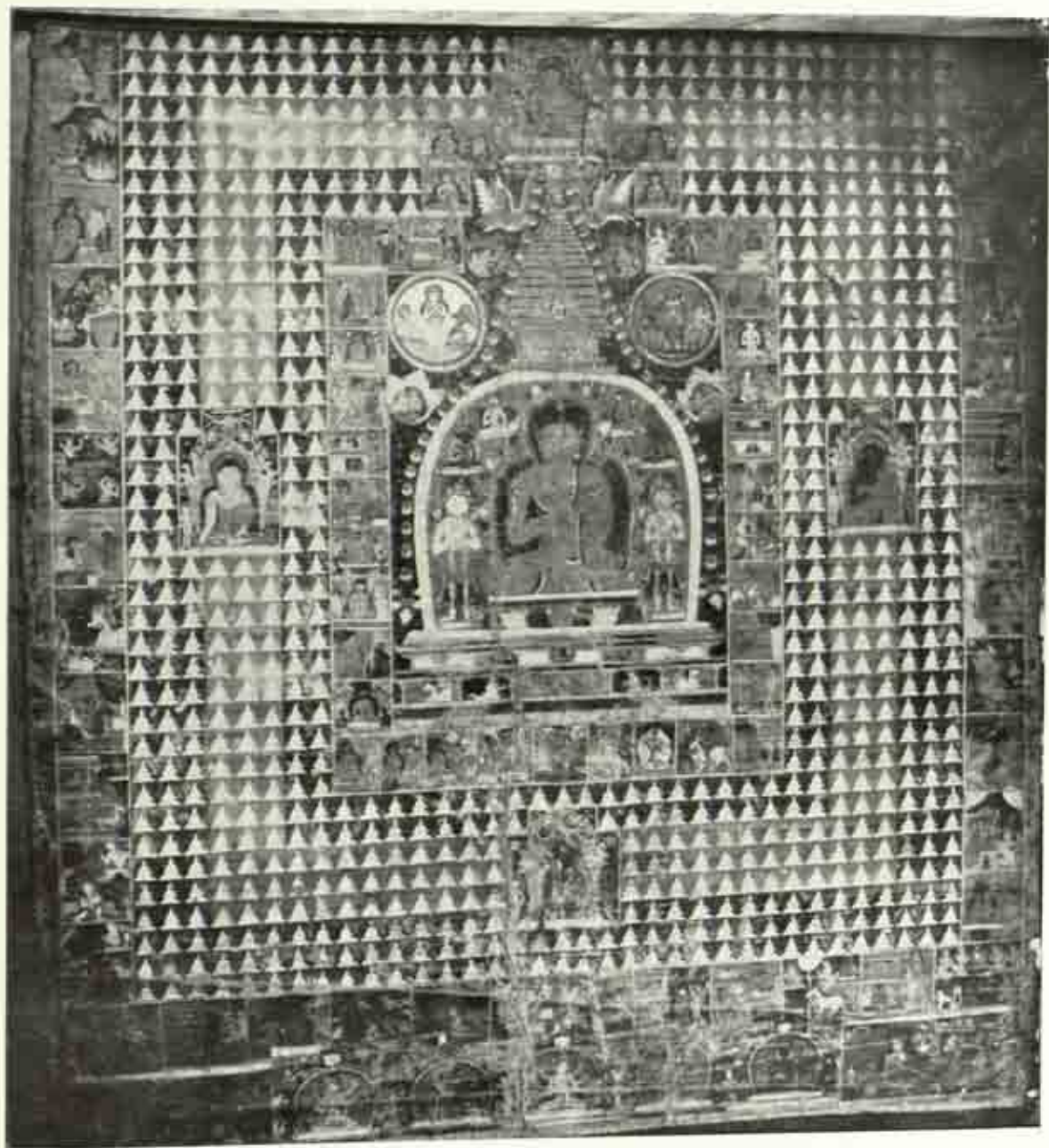


4. Illuminated pages from a MS, of the *Devī Māhātmya*, Palm Leaf, c. 1400 A.D. 6 × 34-1 cm, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



5. Painted wooden covers of a MS, of the *Devī Māhātmya*, c. 1400 A.D. 33.6 × 5.7 cm, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



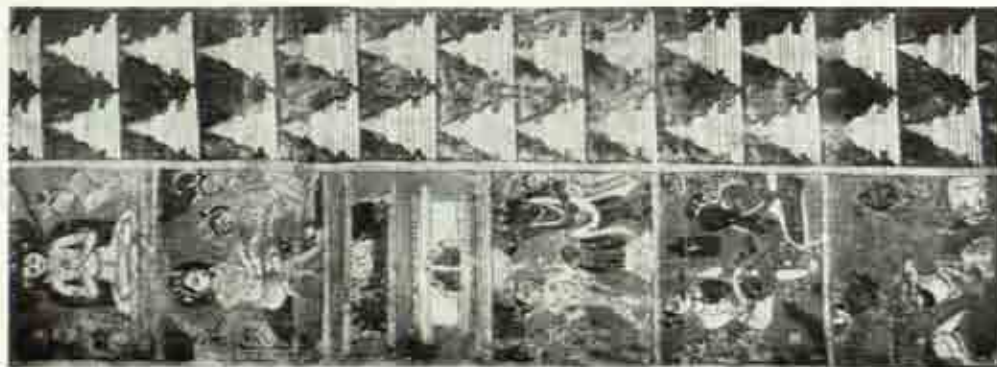


6. *Paṭa* of Lakshachaitya, 15th cent. A.D. 104.5 × 94 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

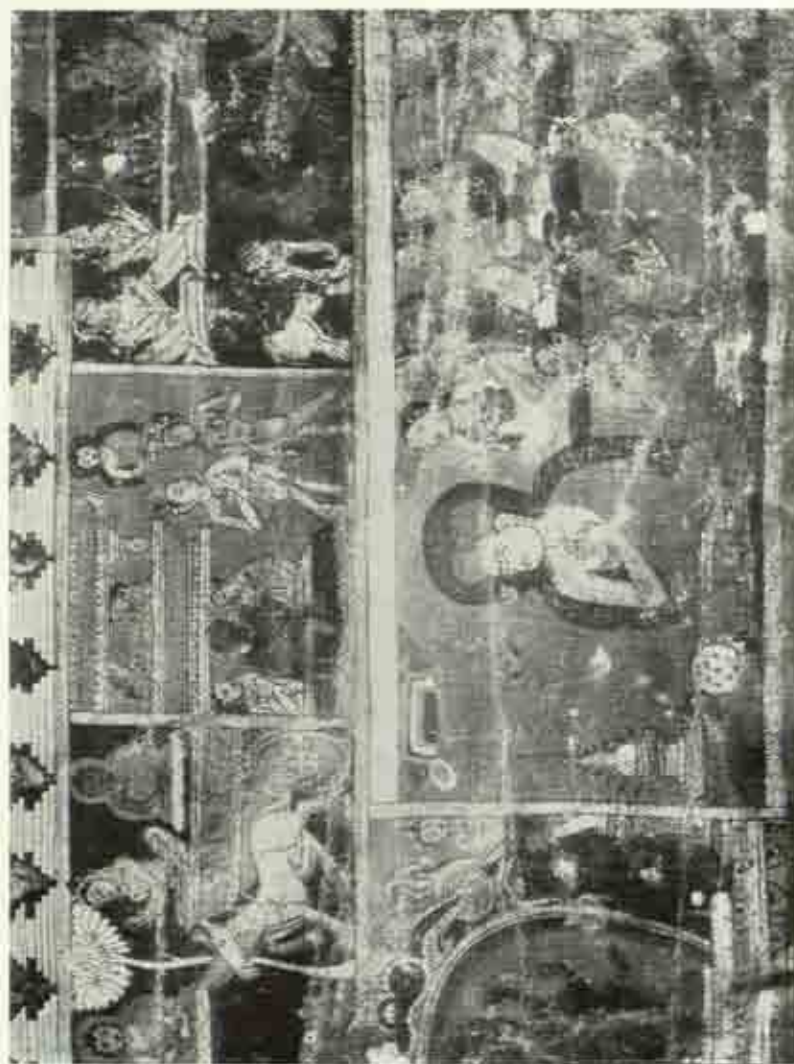




7. Detail of Fig. 6.



8. Detail of Fig. 6.



9. Detail of Fig. 6.

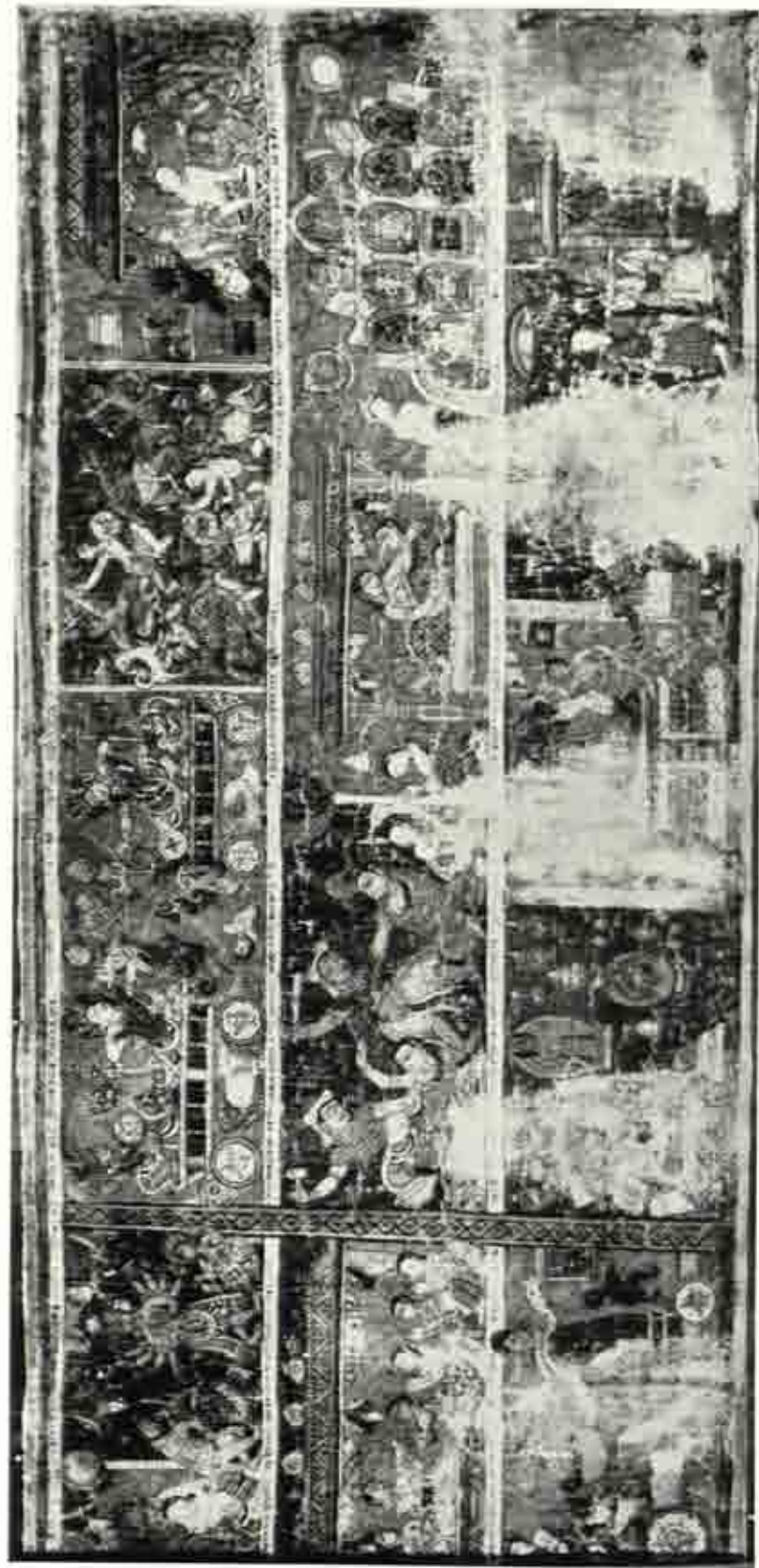


10. *Paṭa* depicting *maṇḍala* of Chandra. 1522 A.D. 80 × 63.5 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

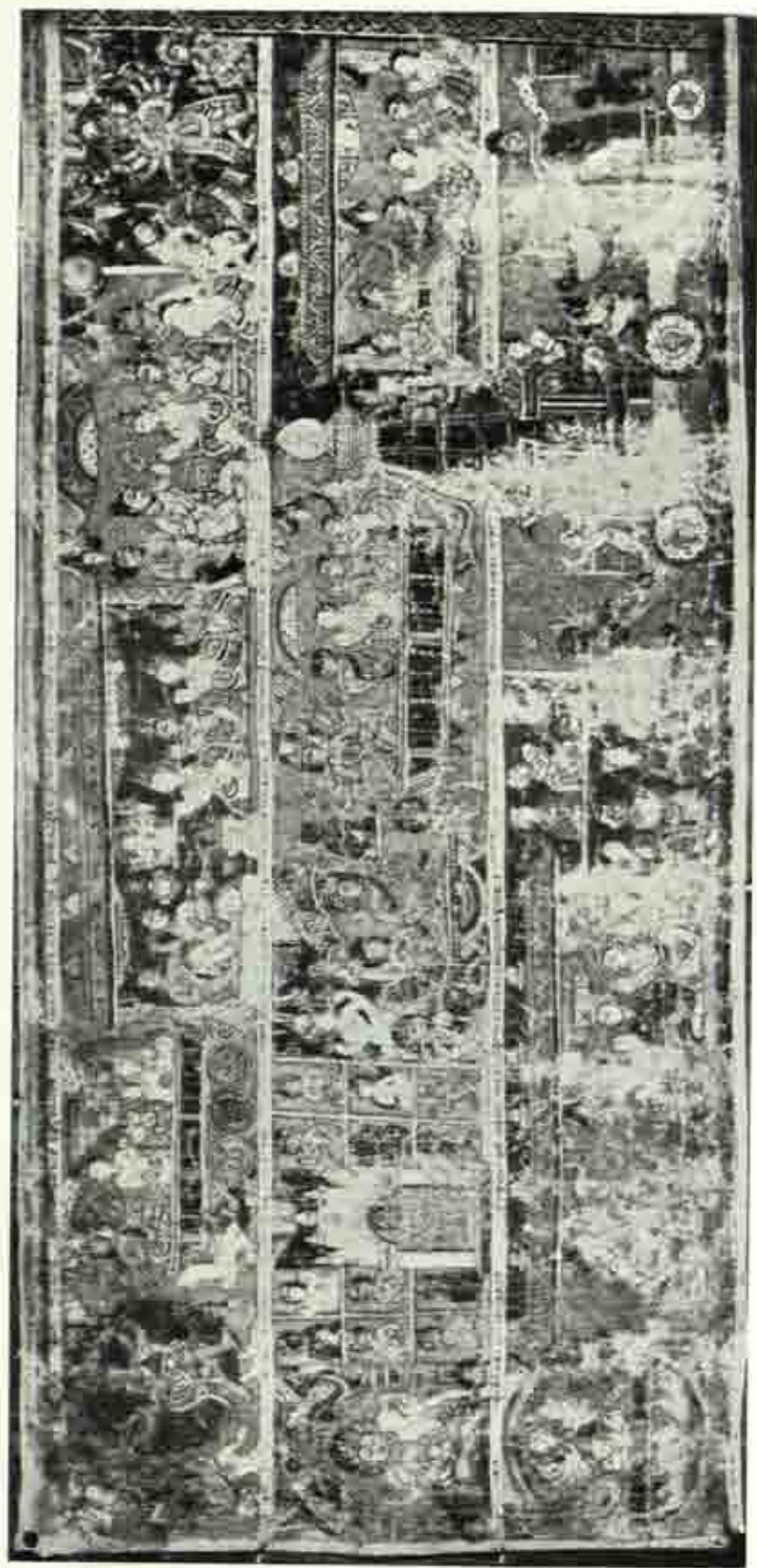




11. *Puṭa* depicting *maṇḍala* of Chandra, 1525 A.D. Photo-Courtesy, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



12. Section of *Rathayātrā* scrolls; 1617 A.D. 252.7 × 64.2 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



13. Section of same scroll as Fig. 12.

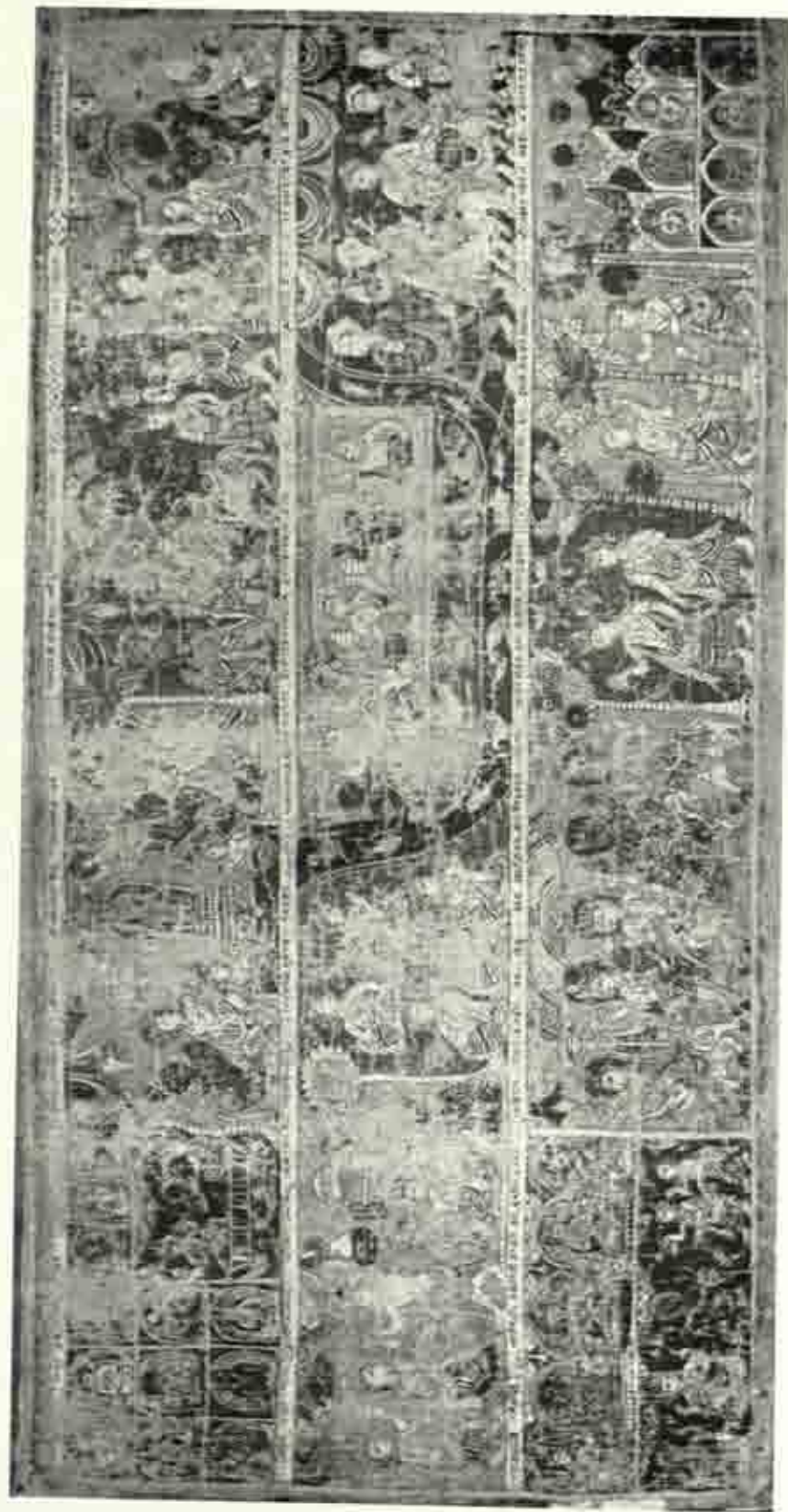




14. Detail of Fig. 12.

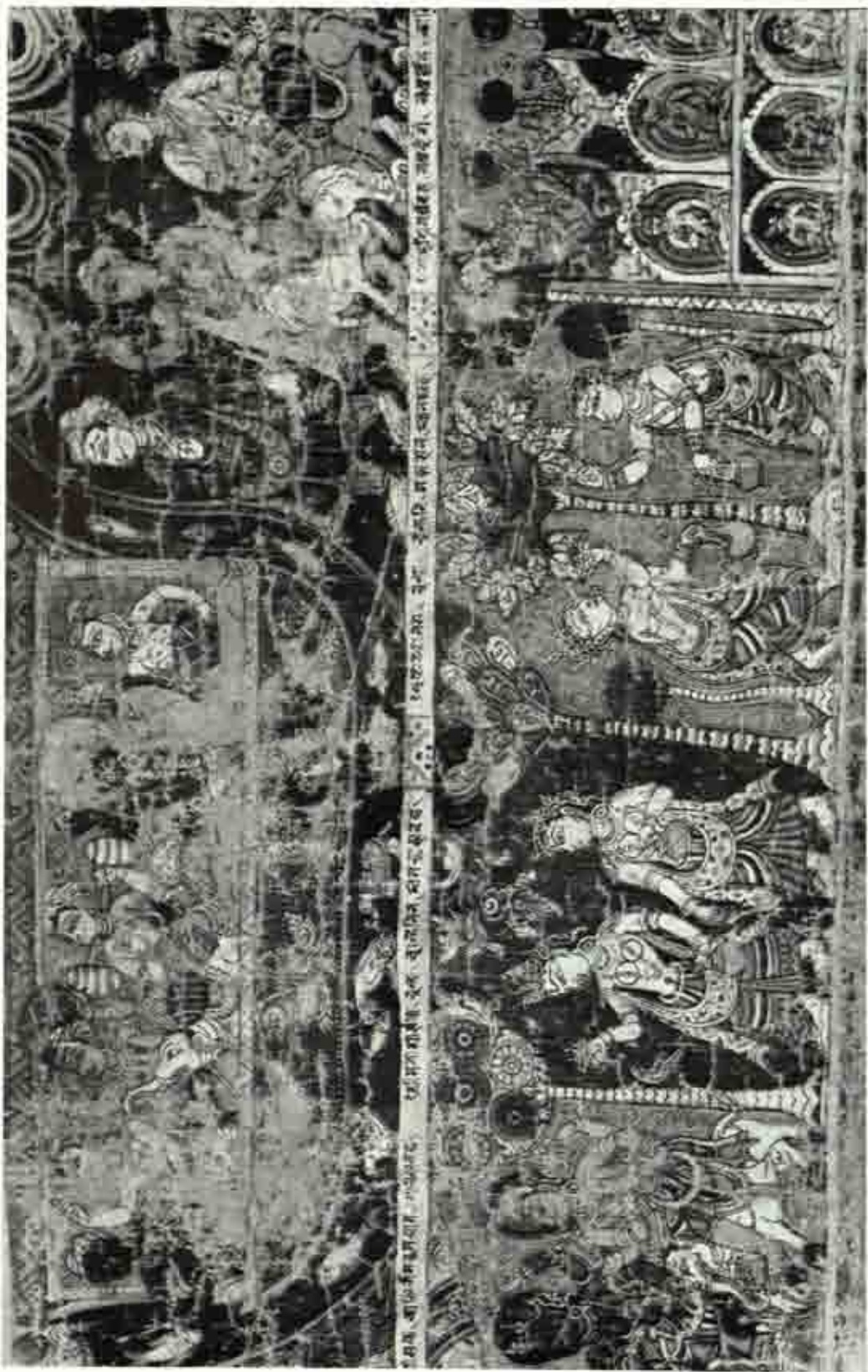


15. Detail of Fig. 13.



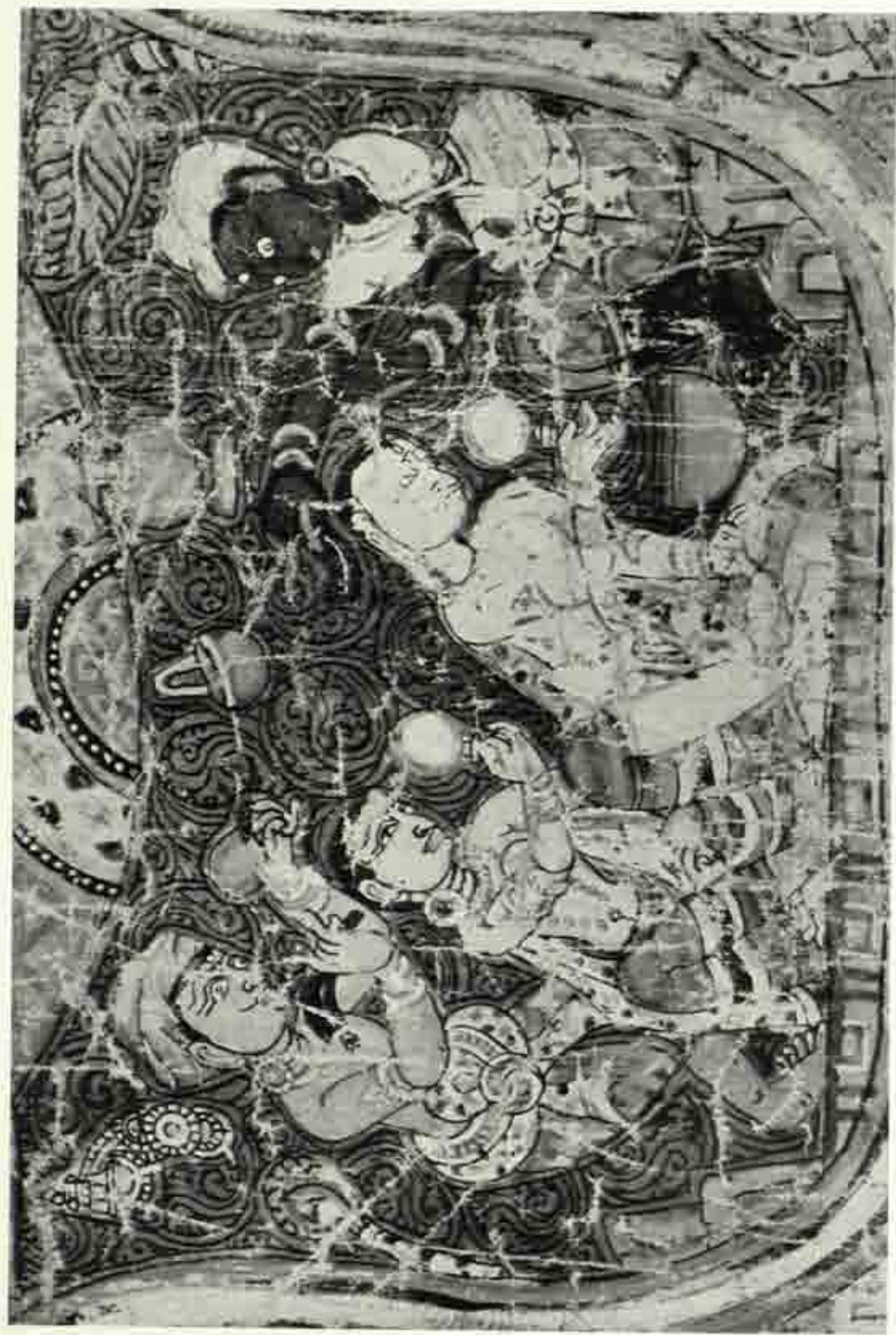
16. Section of a scroll depicting stories from the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, c. 1615 A.D. 231.5 × 64.2 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.





17. Detail of Fig. 16.



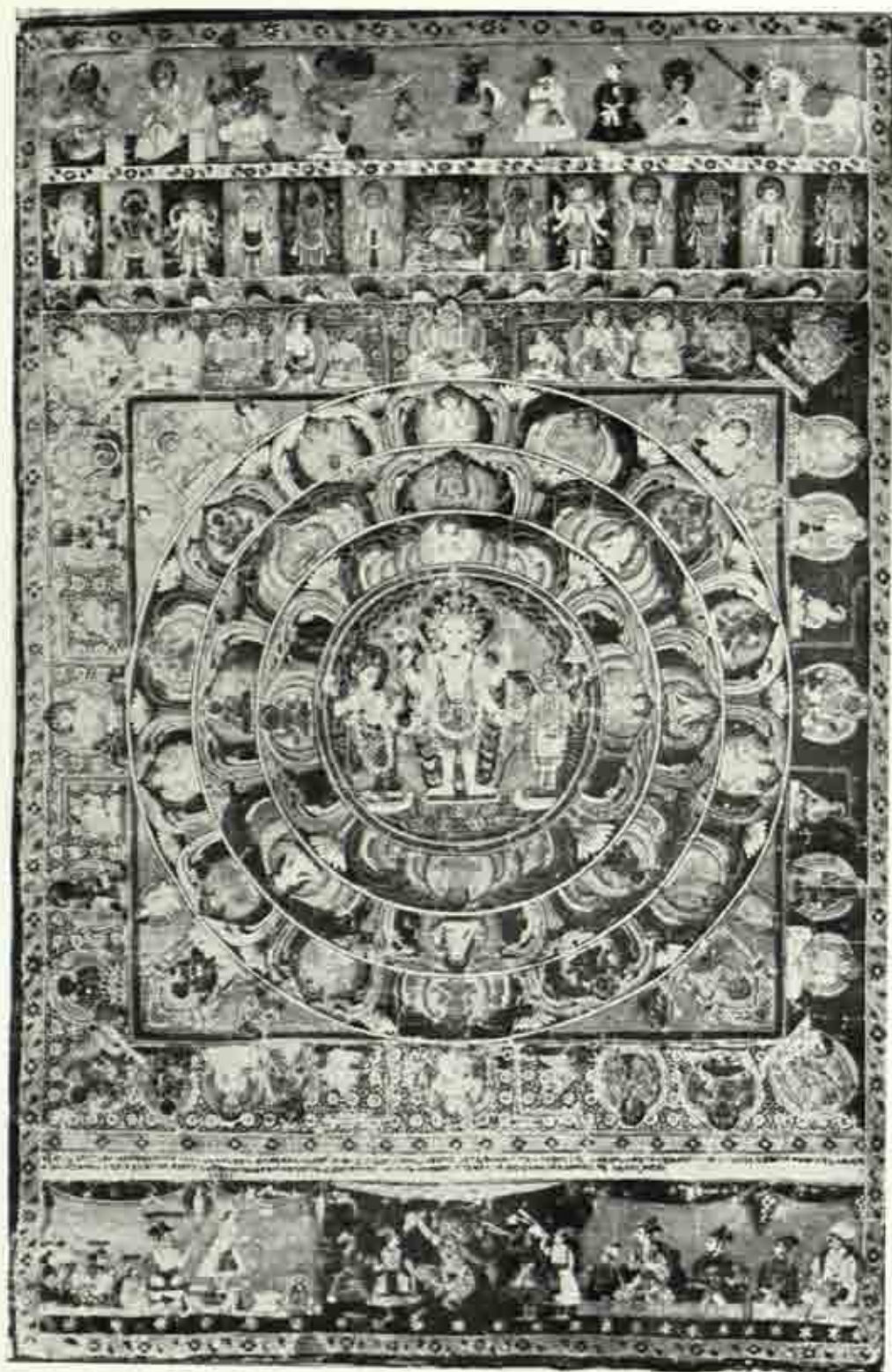


18. Detail from a scroll depicting Lokavara legends, c. 1620 A.D. 261.6 x 64.2 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



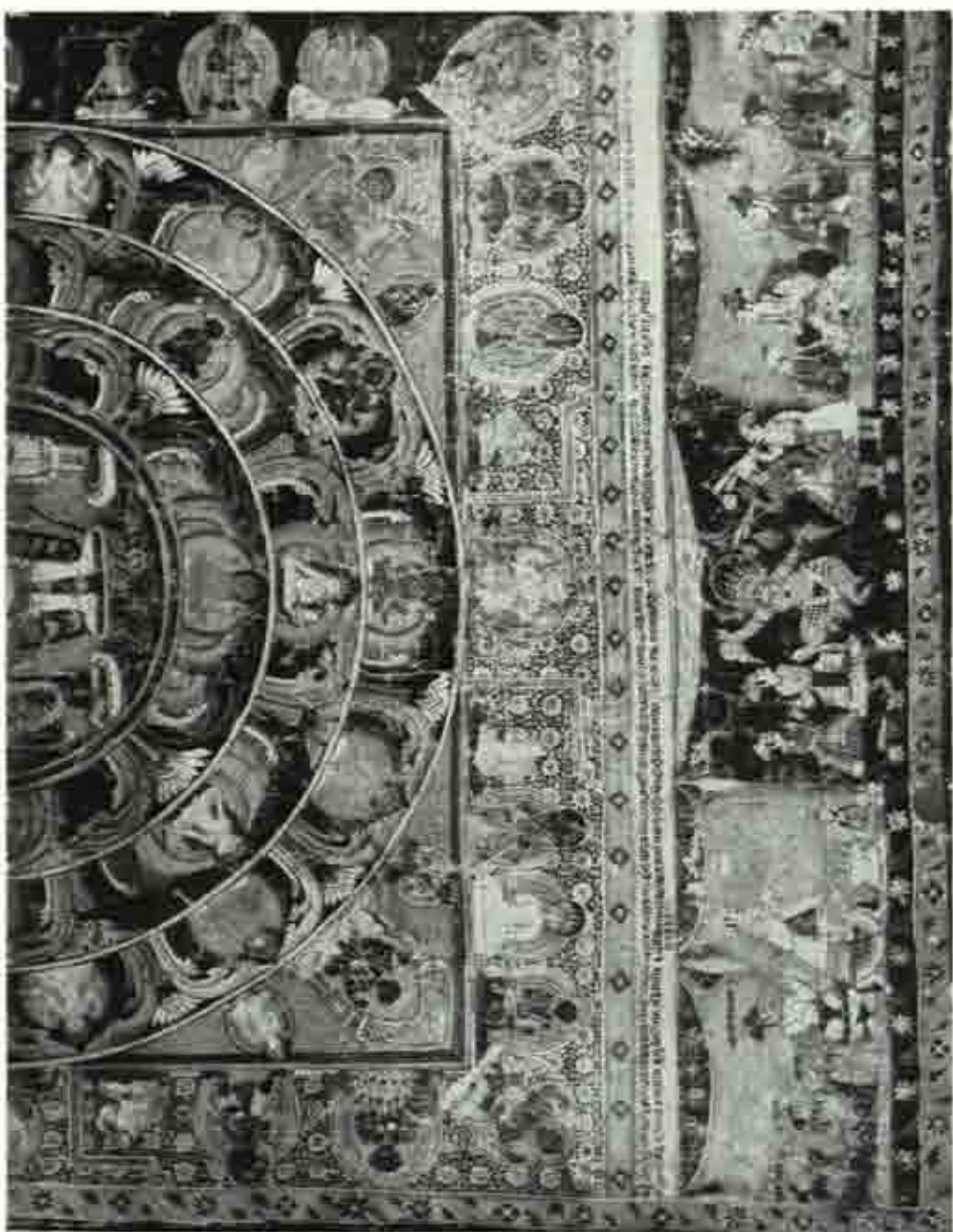
19. *Vishnu pañja*, 1681 A.D. 82 × 102.9 cm, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



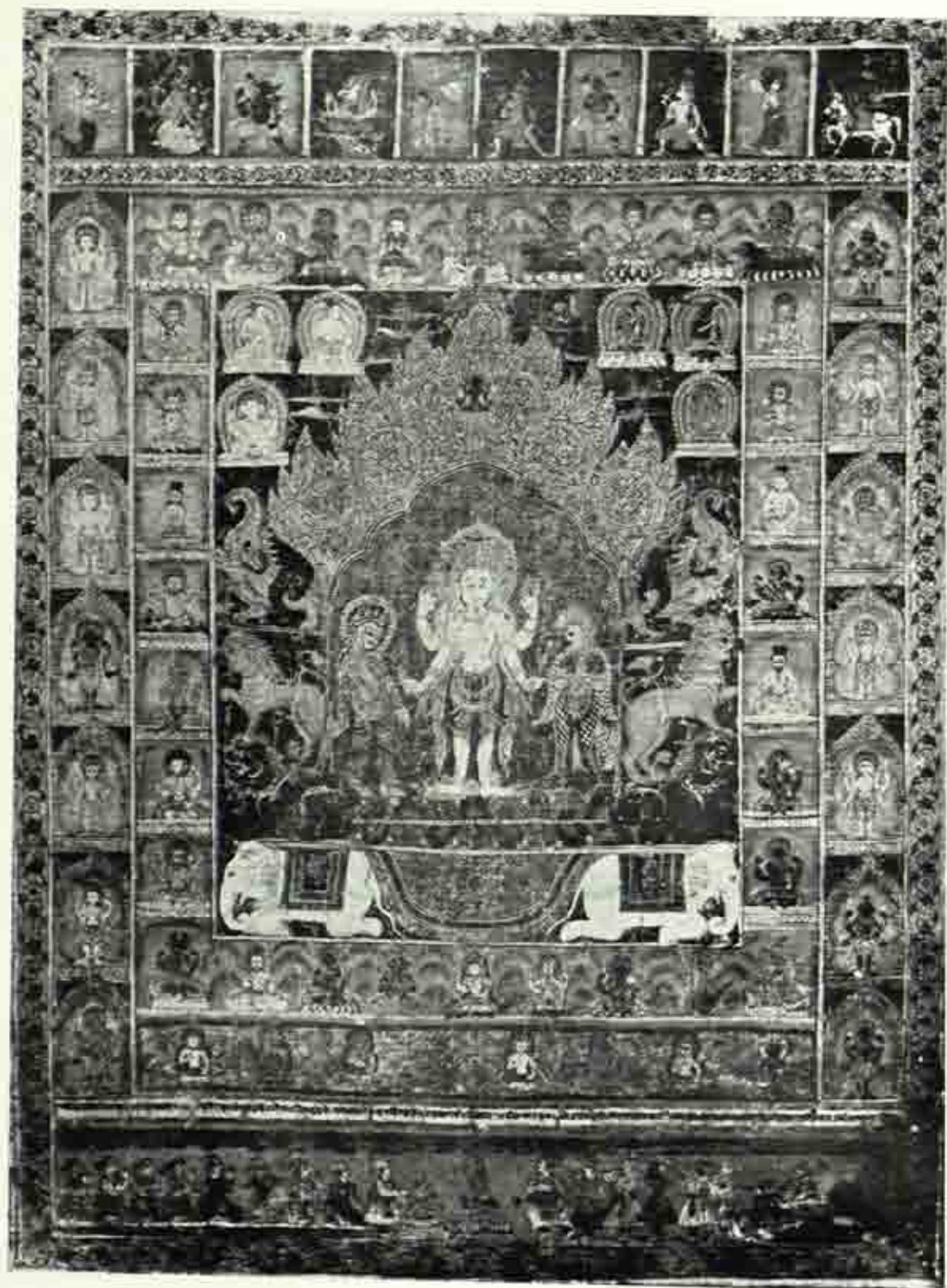


20. Vishnu *mandala*. 1686 A.D. 71.8 x 112.4 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



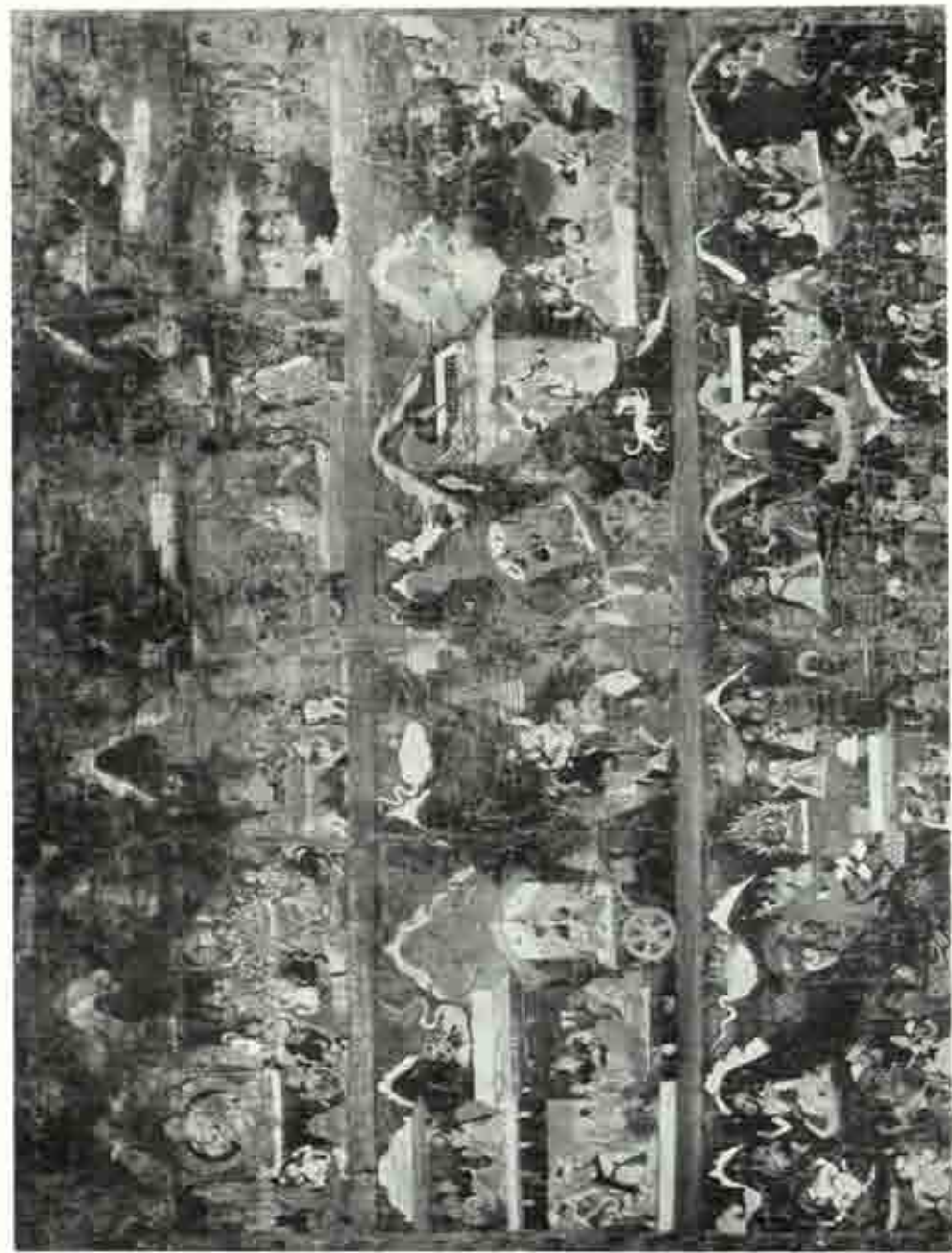


21. Detail of Fig. 20.



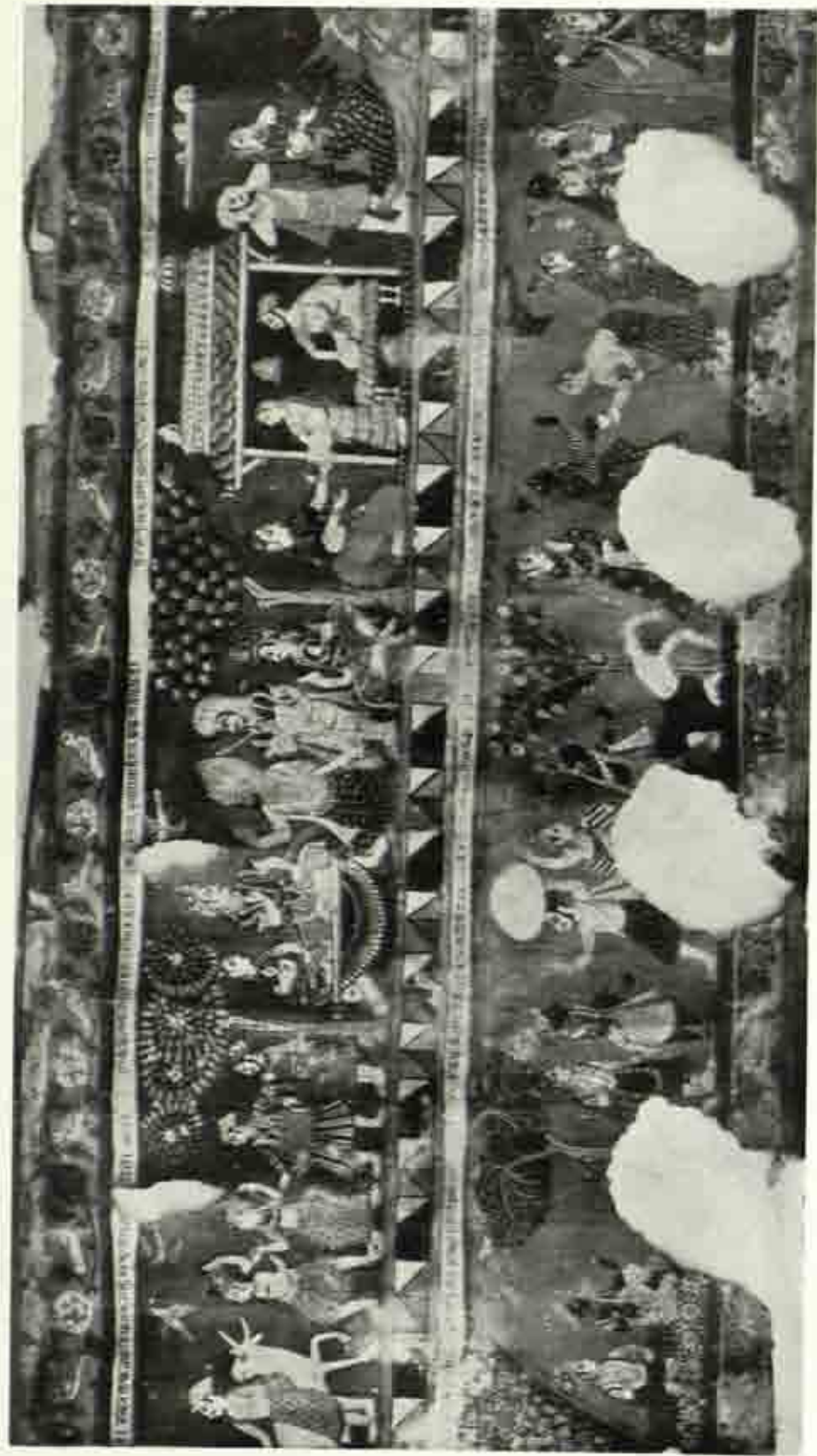
22. Vishnu pāṇa. 1687 A.D. 85.1 × 115.6 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



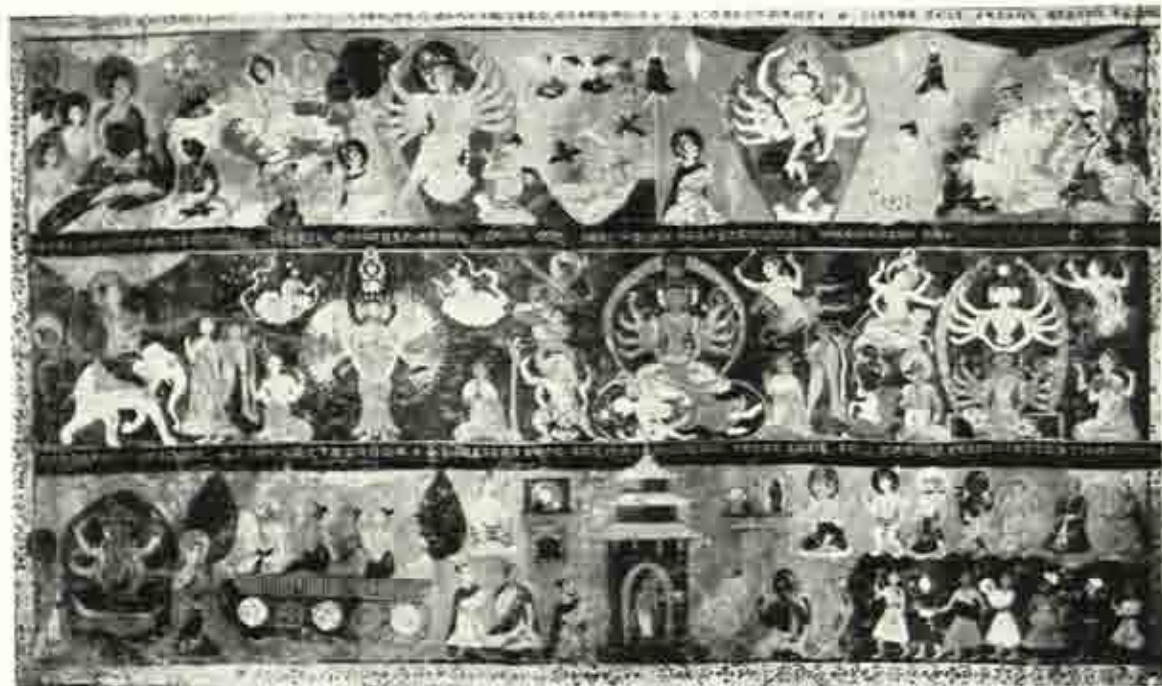


23. Section of a scroll depicting the life of the Buddha: c. 1725 A.D. 193 x 131.1 cm, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

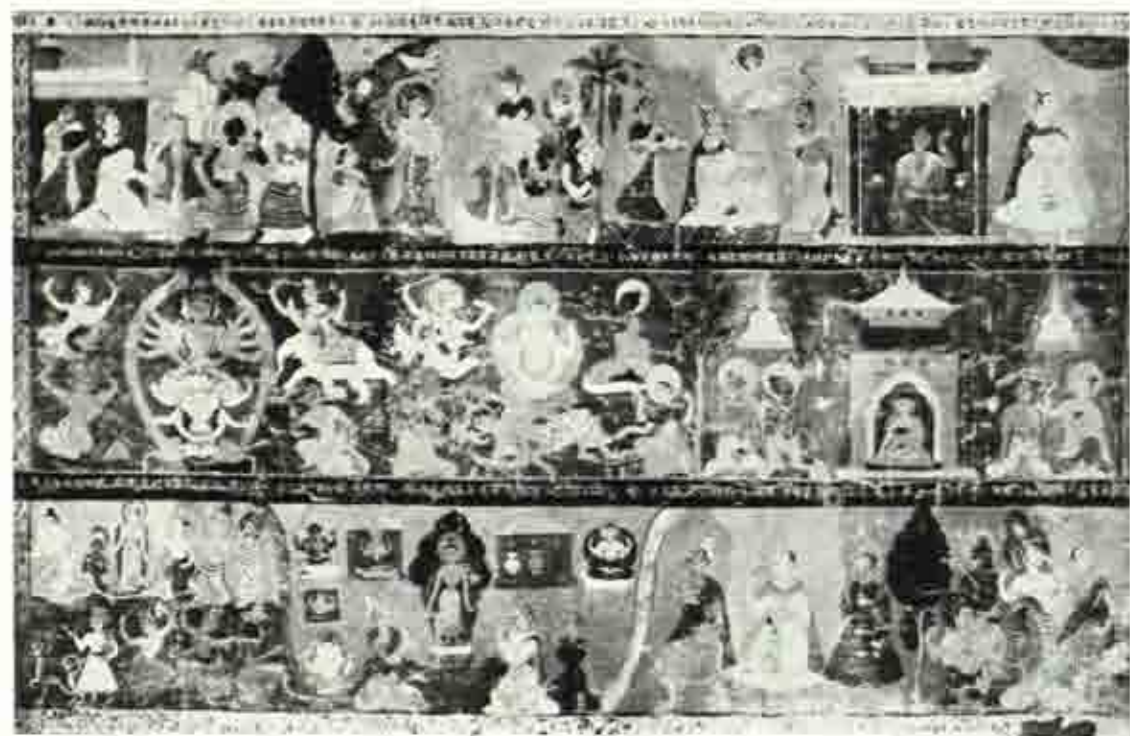




24. Section of a scroll depicting the Kṛṣṇaullāsa, c. 1692 A.D. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras. Photo-Courtesy, The American Academy of Banaras.



25. Section of a scroll depicting Lokeshvara legends. Early 18th cent. 248.9 x 64.2 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



26. Section of same scroll as Fig. 25.





27. *Paṭa of Vasudhārā*. 1788 A.D. 42.5 × 62.5 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.





28. *Paṭa of Mañjuśrī* (?), 1821 A.D. 21 × 30 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



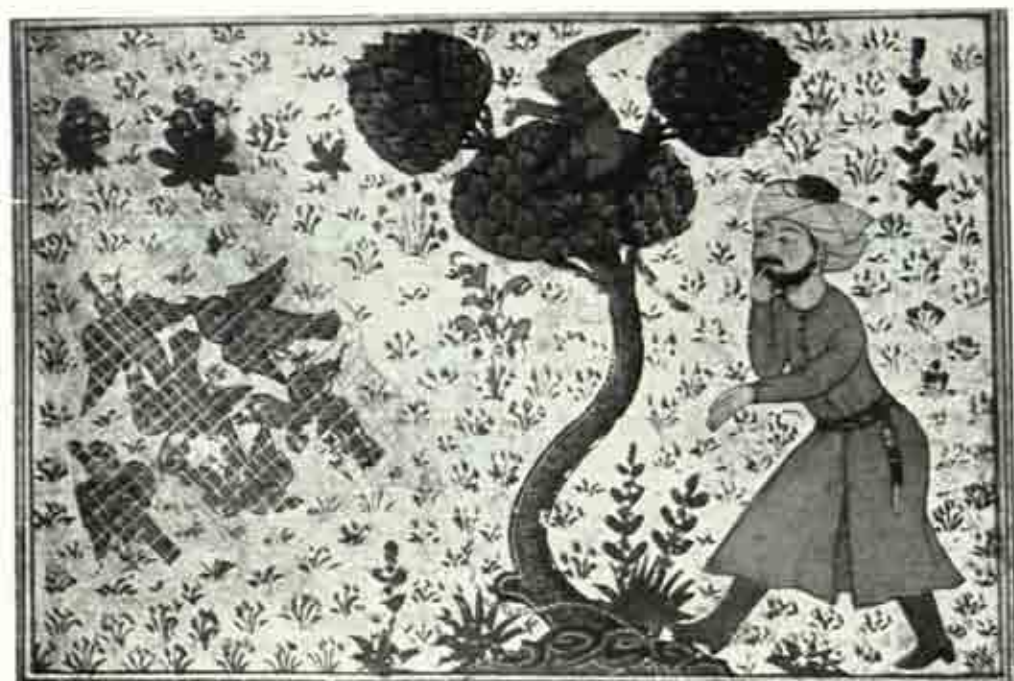
29. Lion devouring the camel. *Kalilah wa Dimnah*.  
1495 A.D. 10.2 x 12.2 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



30. Tortoise being carried on a stick by two geese. From the same MS. as Fig. 29.  
10.6 x 6.2 cm.



31. Lion killing the ox Shanzabeh. *Kalilah wa Dimnah*. 1495 A.D.  
9.5 × 10.5 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



32. Fowler pursuing the pigeons caught in a net. From the same MS. as Fig. 31.  
7 × 10.2 cm.

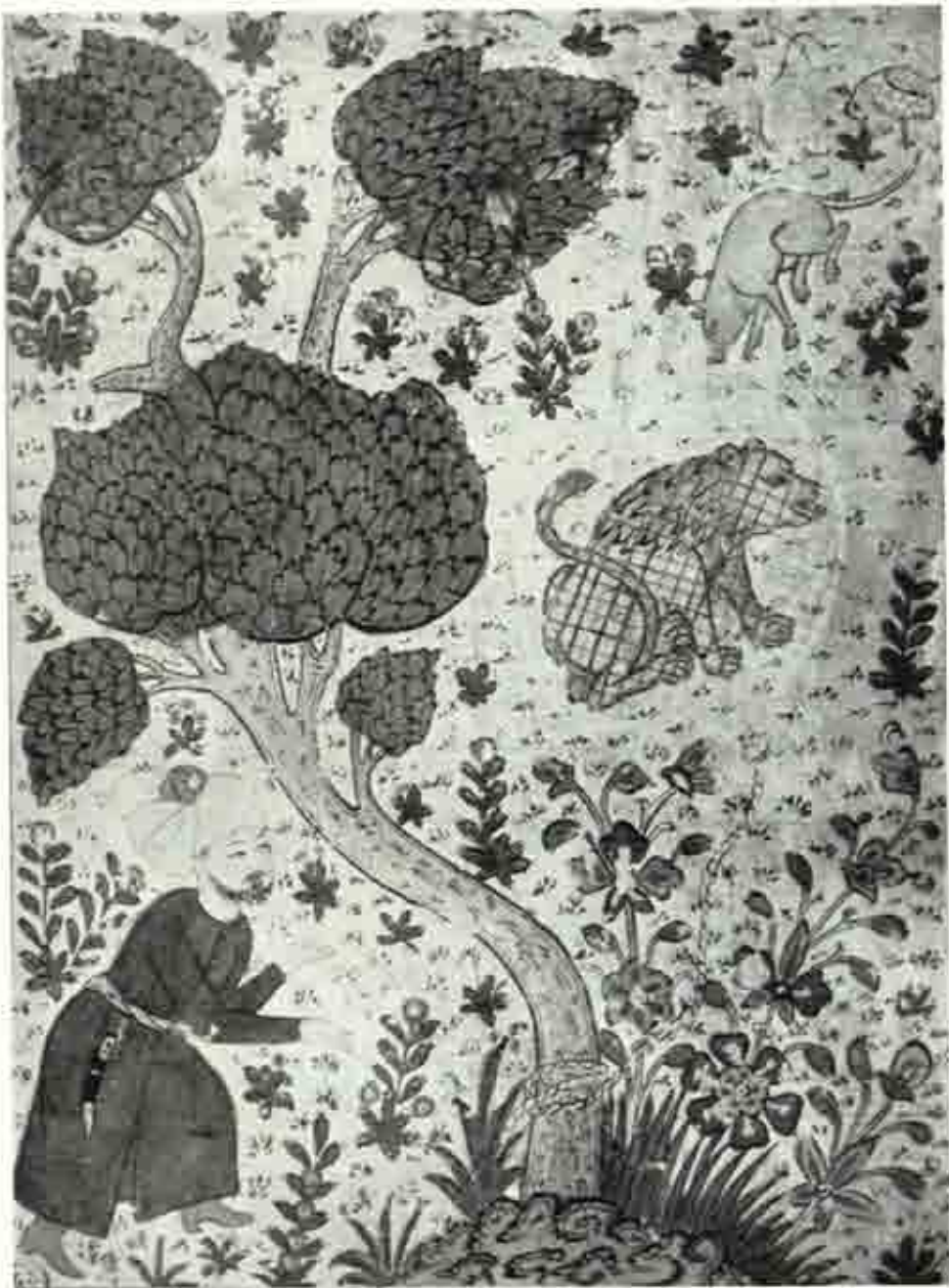




33. Mouse Zīrak releasing the deer from the net. *Kutlah wa Dimnah*.  
1495 A.D. 8.3 × 10.2 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



34. Mouse Zīrak releasing the tortoise. From the same as Fig. 33.  
5 × 10.1 cm.



35. Rat releasing the lion from the hunter's net. *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, 1495 A.D. 10.2 x 14 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



36. Dārāb engaged in a battle with the cannibals. Dārāb nāma. c. 1625 A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.







38. The episode of the baby Sikandar and his nurse, *Dārāb nāma*. c. 1625 A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

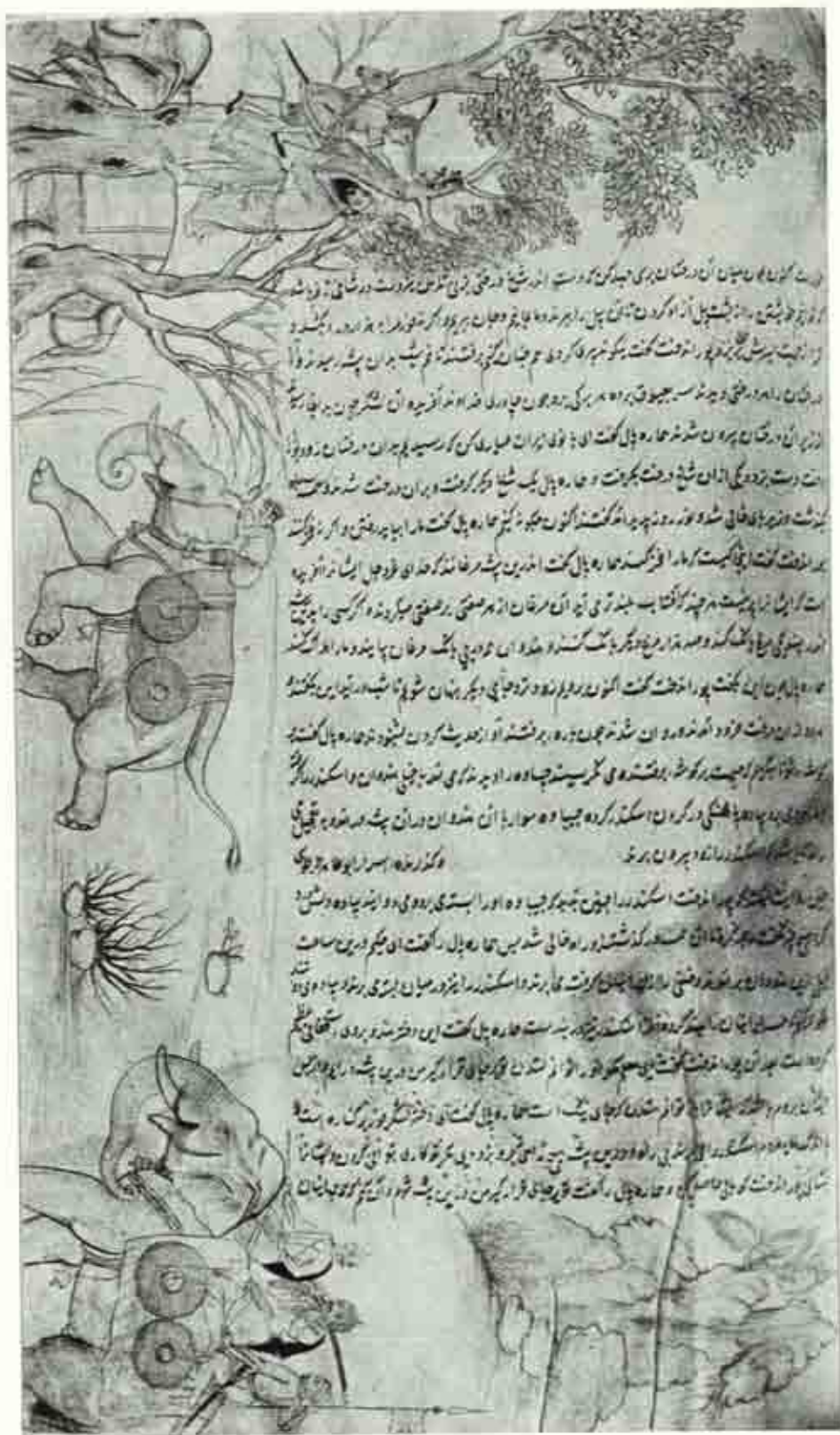


39. Sikandar spying two naked women bathing in a pool. *Dārāb nāma*, c. 1525 A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.





40. The blind Pūrāndukht conversing with Sikandar. *Dārāb nāma*.  
c. 1625 A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



41. The blind Pūrāndukht rescuing Sikandar. *Dārāb nāma*, c. 1625 A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



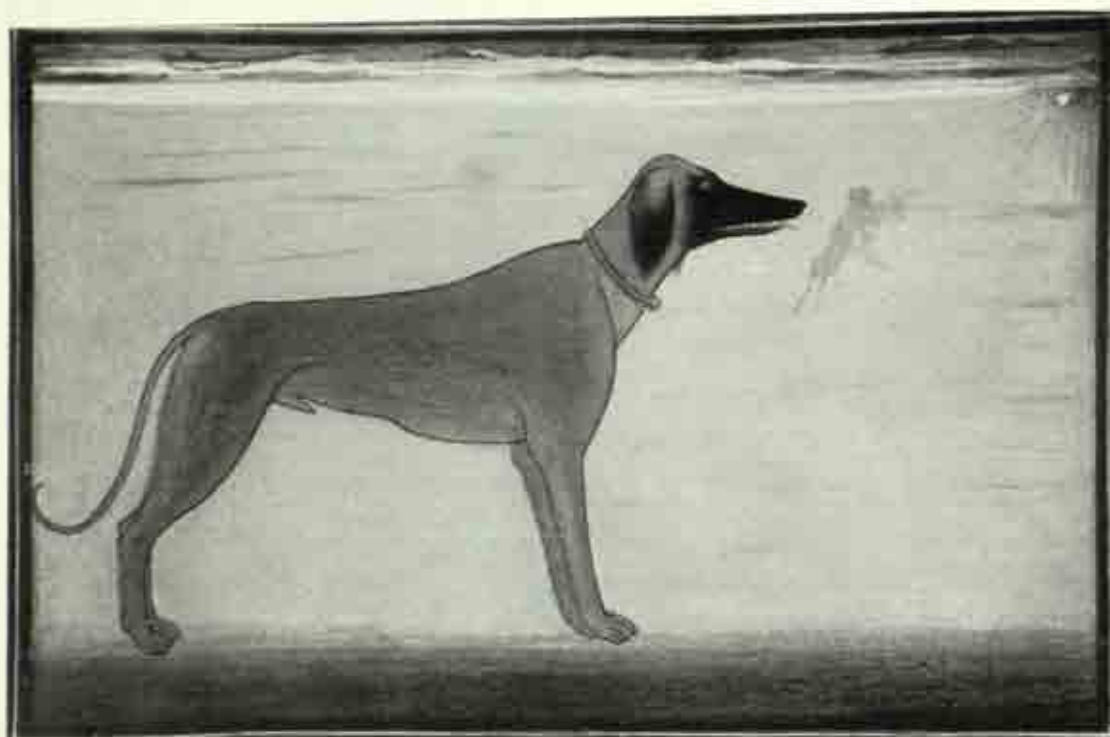


42. Sikandar fighting Humārahphāl. *Dārāb nāma*, c. 1625 A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.





43. Allātūn (Plato) instructing Sikandar, *Dārāb nāma*, c. 1625 A.D. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



44. Portrait of a dog. Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). 1806 A.D. 18 x 28 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



45. Rāvat Gokuldās II with his women on Holi day. Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). 1808 A.D. 18.2 x 26.8 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



46. Rāvat Gokuldās enjoying Holi with his courtiers, Rajasthan, Deogarh (Mewar). 1811 A.D. 34 × 23 cm. N. Roman Behram Collection, Bombay.

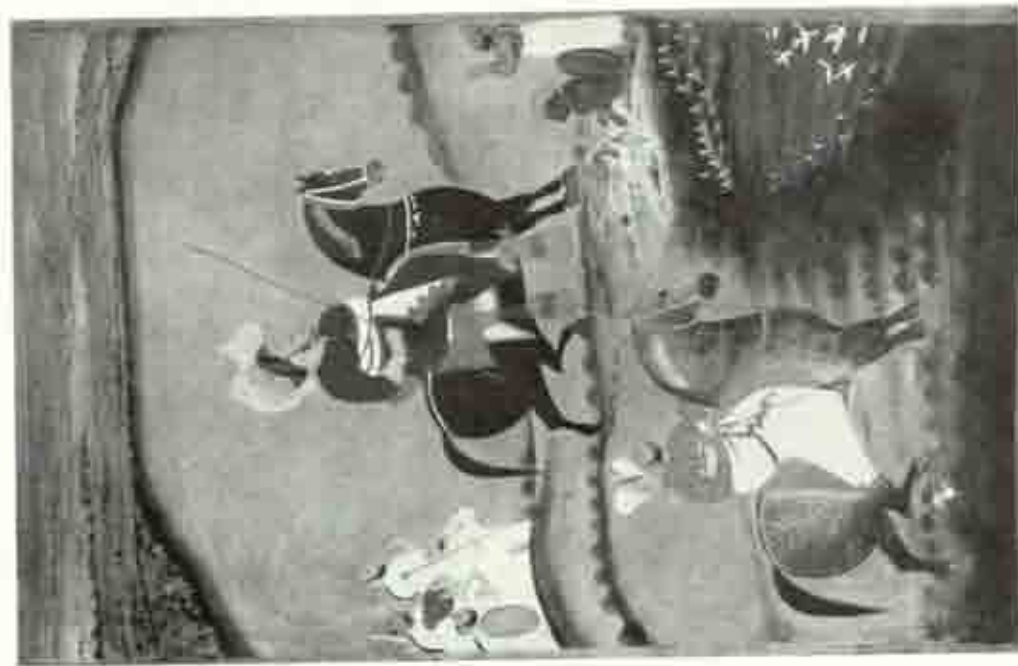




47. Detail of Fig. 46. Portraits of artists Chokā and Bagtā.



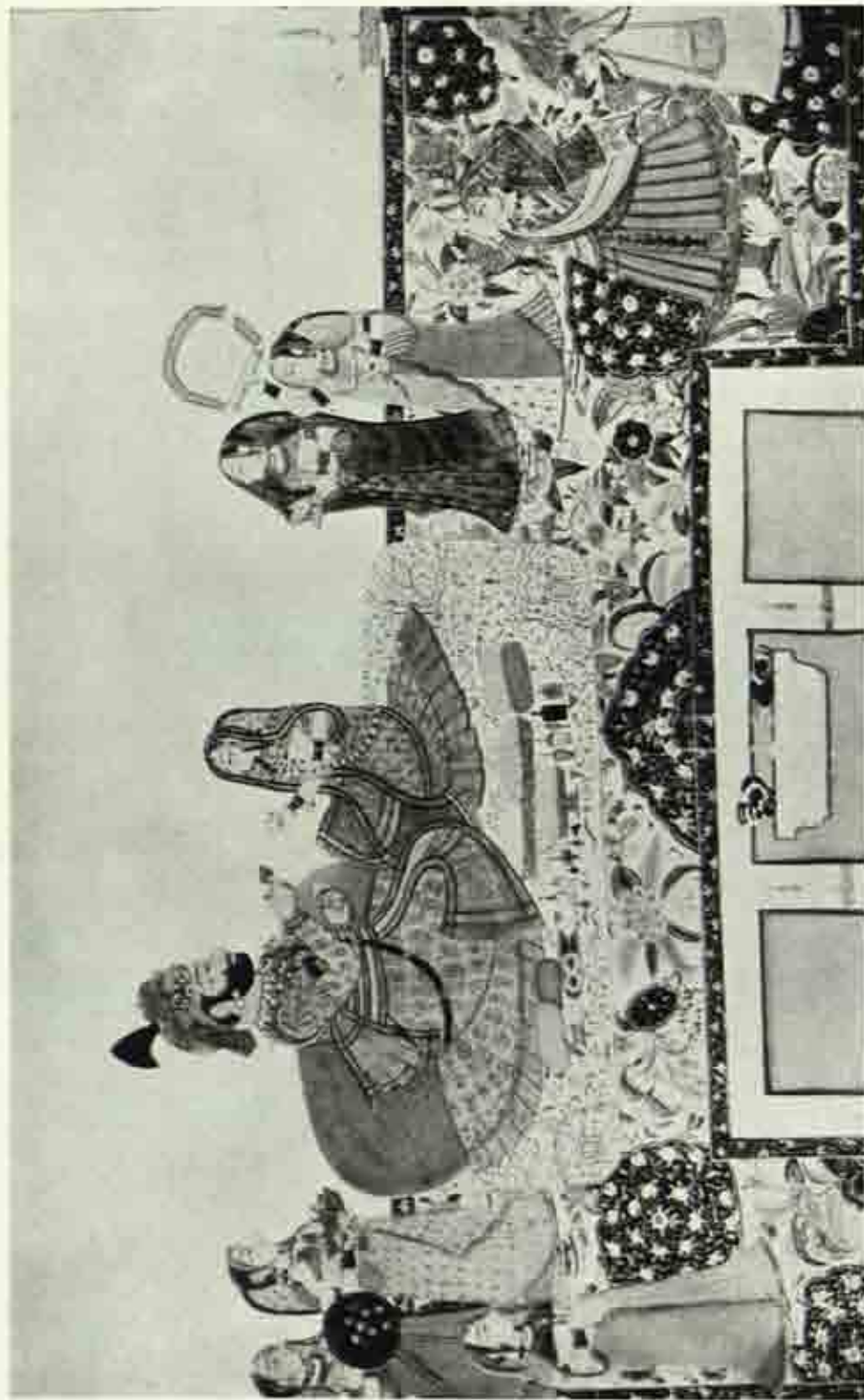
48. Rāvat Gokuldās hunting a wild boar. Rajasthani, Deogarh (Newar), 1811 A.D. 27 x 38 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



49. Equestrian portrait of Rāvat Gokuldās II. Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar): 1811 A.D., 79.5 × 13.4 cm. Late Sir Cowasjee Jehangir Collection, Bombay.

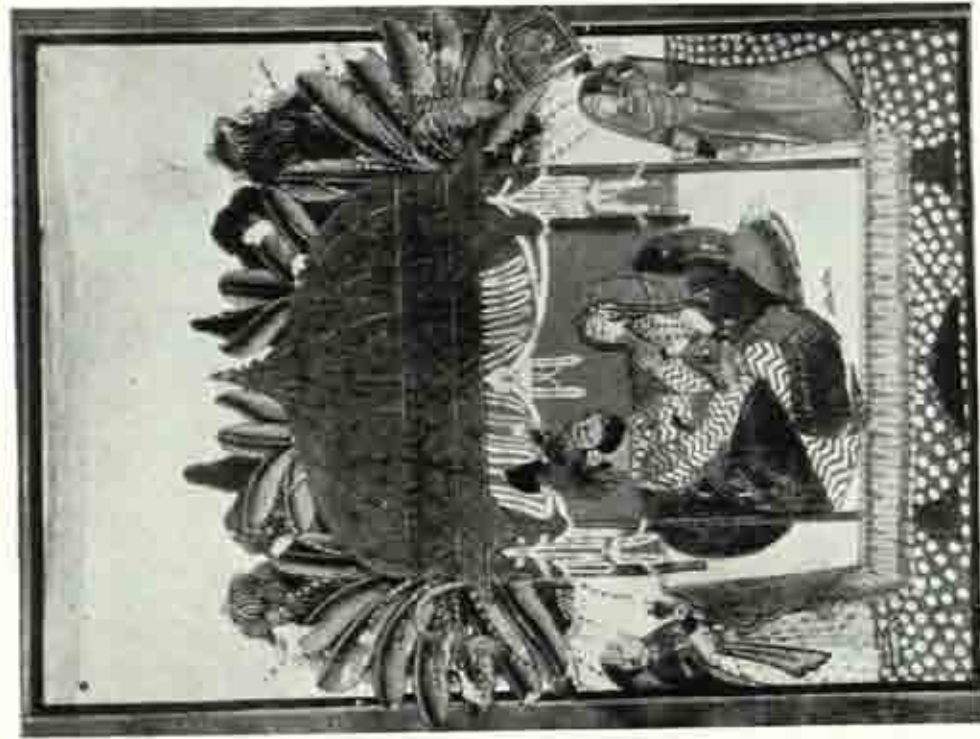


50. Rāvat Gokuldās worshipping Śrināthji. Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar): 1811 A.D., 24.1 × 31.7 cm, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

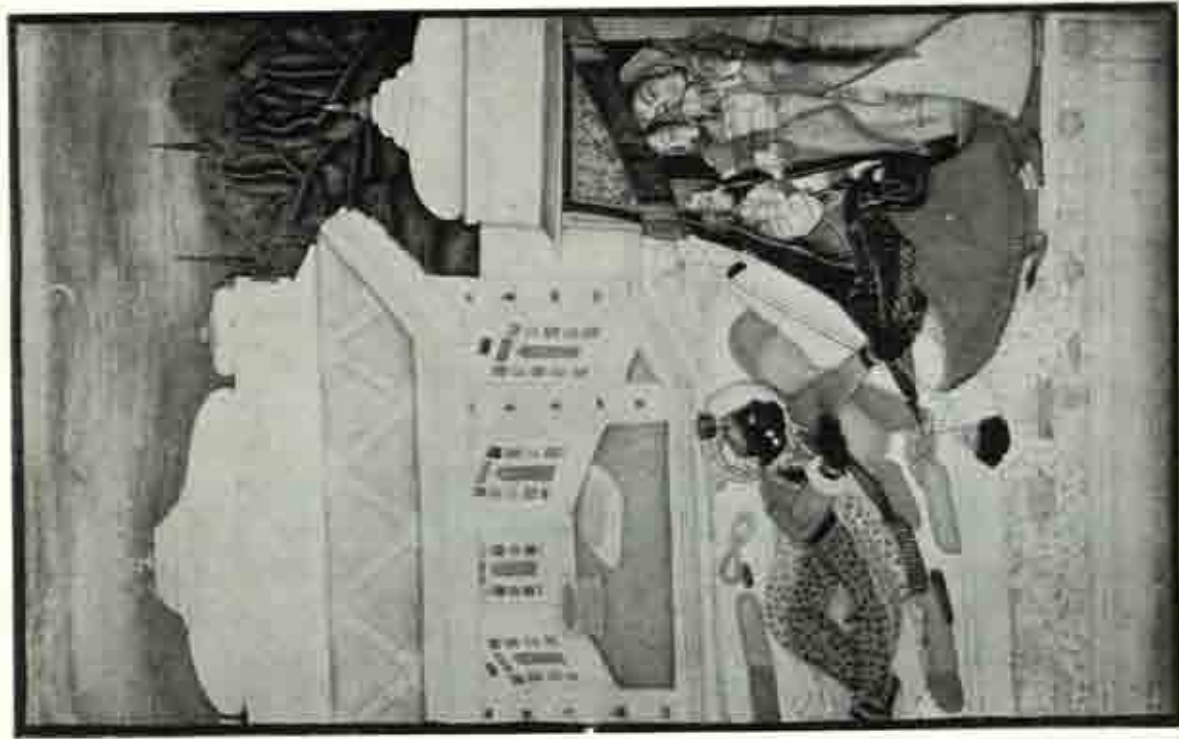


51. Portrait of Rāvat Nāhar Singh with women. Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar).  
1831 A.D. 37.6 × 24.2 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.





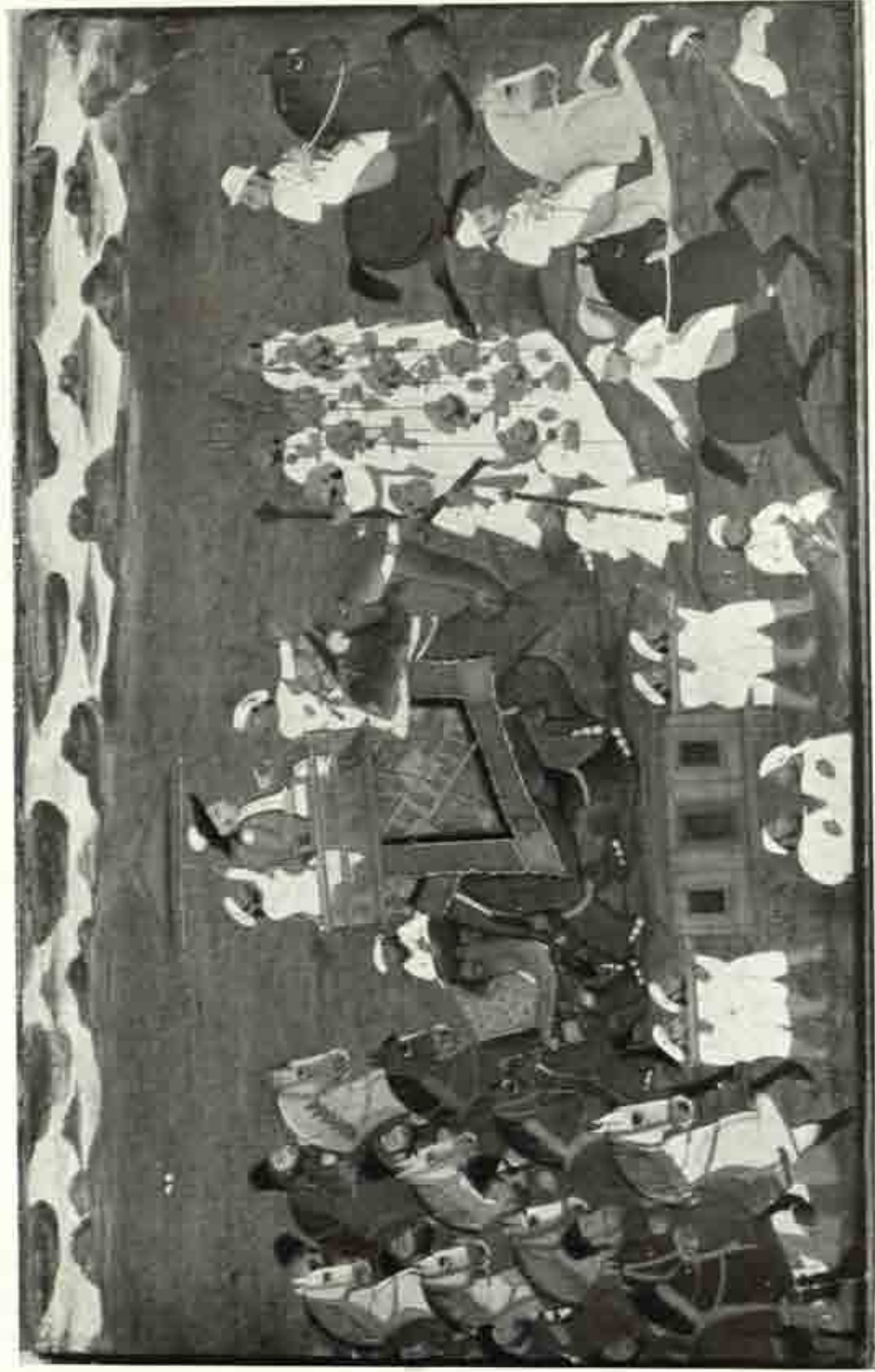
52. Nāhar Singh offering a drink to his beloved. Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). 1830 A.D. 38.5 × 21.5 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



53. Krishna dragging his beloved. Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). First quarter of 19th century. 10.5 × 8.5 cm. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



54. Rāvat Gokuldās riding a black Turkish horse. Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). c. 1810-25 A.D.  
28 x 17.5 cm. Karl J. Khambhavalā Collection, Bombay.



55. Procession of Col. Tod (?). Rajasthani, Deogarh (Mewar). 1817 A.D. 46 x 24 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.











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